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California History

VOLUME LXI 1982–83

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SAN FRANCISCO · SAN MARINO · LOS ANGELES

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SPRING

California History

The Magazine of the California Historical Society

spring 1982

THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, founded in 1871, preserves historical materials and facilitates their use by everyone interested in California's heritage. The Society's publications, programs, and library services seek to stimulate interest in and achieve a wider appreciation and knowledge of the historical events and ideas that continue to shape life in California today. Membership is open to all.

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CALIFORNIA HISTORY
Published quarterly: ©1982 by CHS
Annual membership $25.00
Student membership $15.00
$10.00 of each CHS membership is designated for subscription to *California History*

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Articles for publication, books for review and editorial correspondence should be sent to the Managing Editor, P.O. Box 3370, San Diego, CA 92103. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate with a stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or opinions of the authors.

LC 75-640289
ISSN 0612-2897
Second-class postage paid at
San Francisco, California and additional
mailing offices.
Publication number 084180

COVER

The Chapel at Fort Ross on California's Sonoma coast exists today as a reminder of the Russian Orthodox faith and of the group of colonists who attempted the only Russian settlement within the present day boundaries of the United States. Built in the 1820s, the Chapel now standing at Fort Ross has undergone several reconstructions in the past 155 years. The history of this unique landmark begins on page 2.

California History

The Magazine of the California Historical Society

BURLINGAM
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PUBLISHED SINCE 1922

VOLUME LXI SPRING 1982 NO. 1

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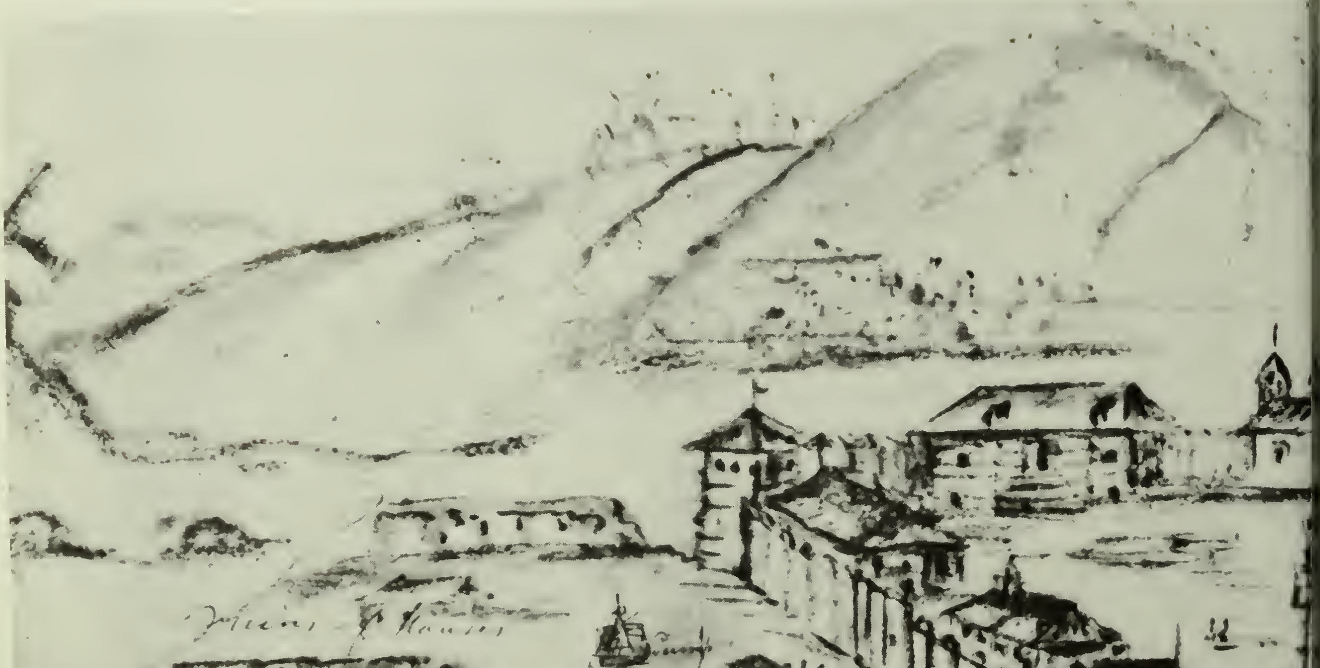
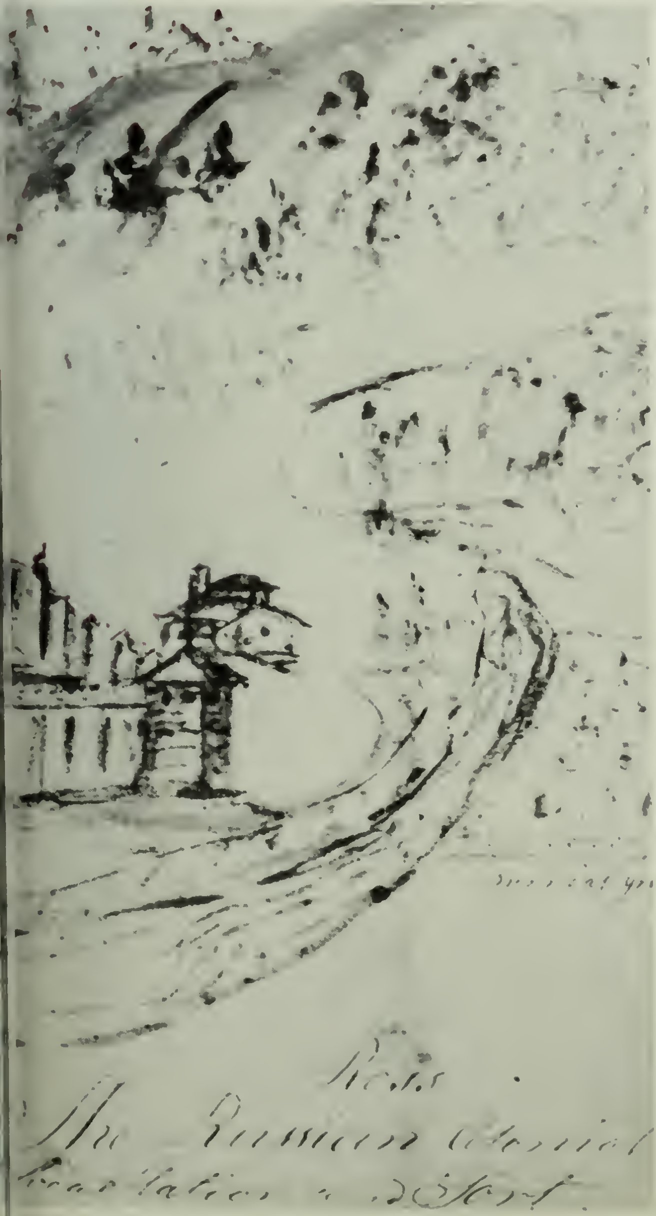


The only known historic sketch of Fort Ross at the time of its sale to John A. Sutter. This sketch was made by G. M. Waseurtz in 1842 and appeared in his manuscript A Sojourn in California by the King's Orphan.

Diane Spencer-Hancock
William E. Pritchard



The Chapel at Fort Ross

Its History and Reconstruction

High on a wind-swept bluff of the Sonoma Coast stands a small redwood Chapel of the Russian Orthodox faith. Dating from the early 1820s, this unique structure witnessed one of the most fascinating colonization attempts in North America—California's Fort Ross.

To Fort Ross falls the distinction of being the only Russian settlement within the continental United States. Further, Fort Ross exhibits the most extensive remains—either original or reconstructed—of any Russian settlement in North America. In vivid contrast to the neglect endured by numerous historically significant sites elsewhere, Fort Ross and its Chapel exhibit a history of utilization and preservation which may be unparalleled in America—yet this site exudes an ambience and a quiet mystique all its own. How Fort Ross came to be constructed in this isolated place is unique in its own right, enmeshing all who visit in a story of ambition, profit, and hardship.[1]

Only two visitors to Fort Ross during the Russian period are known to have left any written statements regarding the religious practices of the colonists. Father Mariano Payeras visited the outpost in 1822, prior to the construction of the Chapel, yet noted all seemed to conform to the sacraments of the Russian Orthodox faith. Father Ioann Veniaminov (opposite) visiting the Fort in 1836, stated that the Russians used the Chapel very little.

Fort Ross was the ultimate expression of Russian eastward expansion across Siberia toward the Aleutian Islands and the Alaskan mainland—a movement not unlike America's own westward progress, although preceding it by a century. The ostensible motive for this Russian expansion was profit, for access was thus allowed to huge herds of fur seal and sea otter found in these northern Pacific waters. During the last half of the eighteenth century, Russian trappers and traders brought furs worth at least $16,000,000 to the markets of the world. Ultimately, through consolidation of numerous Russian hunting and trading enterprises, this profitable undertaking came to be the sole province of the Russian American Company.

The Russian American Company, chartered by Tsar Paul I in 1799, was charged with tasks extending far beyond the realm of trade. By its charter, the Russian American Company was authorized to utilize the coast of North America for its hunting enterprises and given the unilateral right to explore and colonize unoccupied lands to the south. Further, it was understood that the Company would control all Russian exploration, trade and settlement in North America. In view of the obvious westward expansion on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company whose own charter was similar to that granted the Russian American Company, as well as Spain's increasing international weakness, the Tsar sensed an opportunity to seize and consolidate a colonial position in a virtually unoccupied frontier of the world—with a minimum of Imperial expenditure.

An initial step in the continuing expansion of the Russian empire in North America was the establishment of a permanent Russian settlement to serve as the Russian American Company's headquarters. This outpost, today's Sitka, Alaska, was established in 1799, and named New Archangel. A second step in this plan occurred several years later with the colonization of Alta California. These steps were admittedly geopolitical, yet there were other, more starkly practical reasons for Company officials to look enviously to the south: a desire to hunt among the numerous profitable herds of sea otter located

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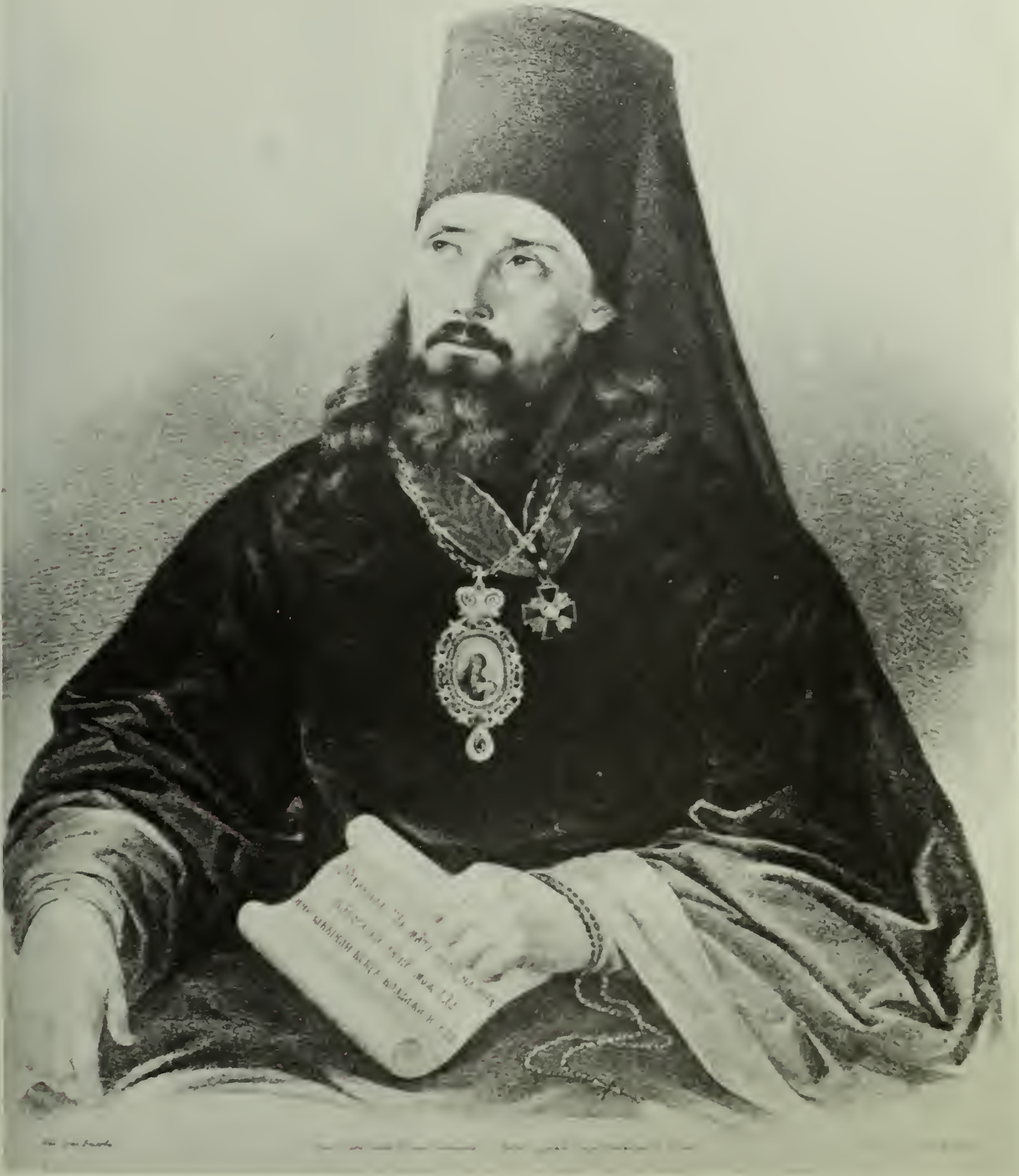
Both Ms. Spencer-Hancock and Mr. Pritchard are the authors of "Notes to the 1817 Treaty between the Russian American Company and Kashaya Pomo Indians" which appeared in the Winter 1980/81 issue of *California History*.



along the coast of Alta California—and starvation.

Due to the harsh climate and a distinct disinclination on the part of Company officials to interrupt fur hunting expeditions—the principal source of profit for the Company—Russian settlers in Alaska were unable to grow the staples needed to feed their growing population. The Aleutian and Alaskan colonies were thus supplied by shipments of goods and foodstuffs from Siberia. During the exceptionally severe Alaskan winter of 1805-1806, the always difficult supply problem became critical, for no supply ships arrived from Siberia. Imported Russian foodstuffs were strictly rationed, then completely disappeared. The diet thus forced upon the settlers led to a high mortality rate from malnutrition and scurvy. This situation ultimately resulted in the voyage of Imperial Chamberlain and Company official Nikolai P. Rezanov from New Archangel to San Francisco in an attempt to secure food for the starving colony and, additionally, to propose permanent trade agreements with the Spanish. Upon his return to New Archangel, Rezanov urged Alexander Baranov, Governor of Alaska, to explore Alta California in order that a dependable food base for existing Russian American colonies might be established.

Between 1808-1811, Baranov sent his chief assistant, Ivan A. Kuskov, on several reconnaissance trips to California to locate a suitable site for the desired colony. Using Bodega Bay as a base, Kuskov explored the surrounding area and finally recommended the Fort Ross location be settled. Actual construction of the Fort, or Colony Ross as it was called by its Russian inhabitants, began in March, 1812. The stockade was completed in the fall and the occasion marked by a special religious service.

Colony Ross was constructed of native redwood and built in much the same configuration it retains today. By 1820, the interior of the Fort contained the Commandant's House (also known as the Kuskov House), the Officials' Barracks, quarters for the Russian employees, various storehouses and several lesser structures. The Chapel was added around 1824, although the exact date is not known.

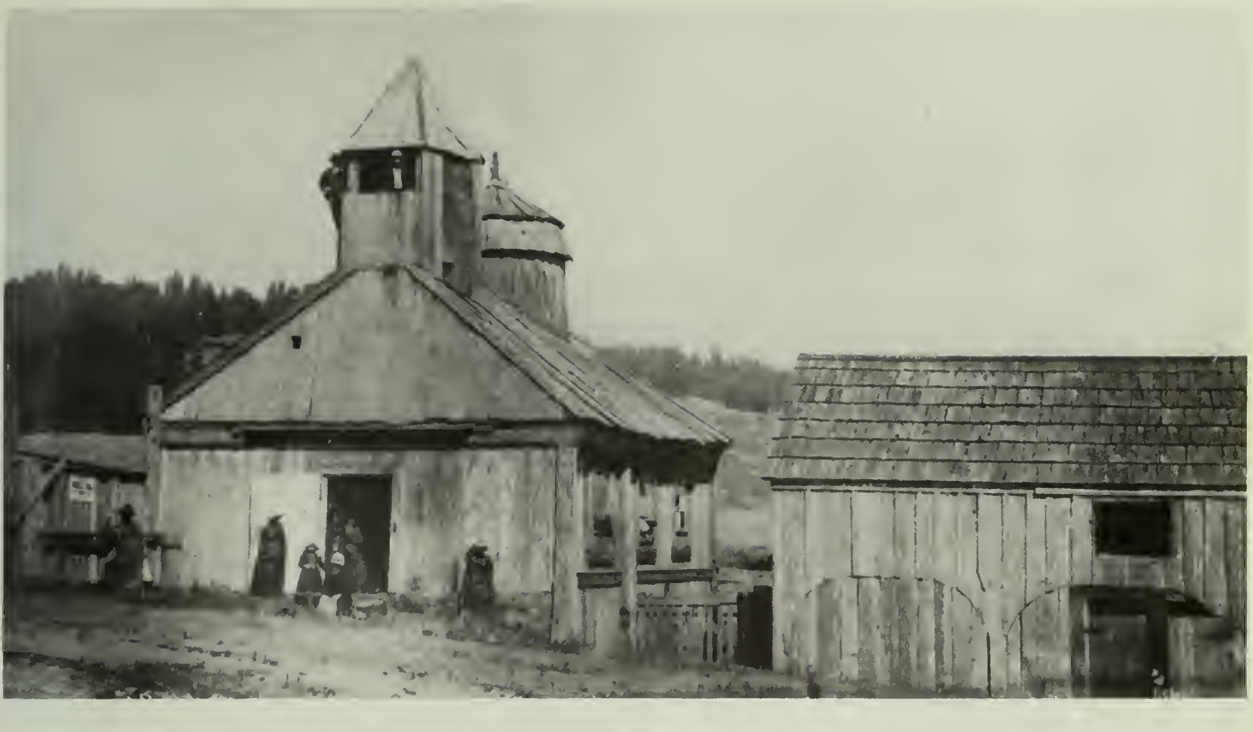
Structures were located outside the stockade as well. In addition to the dwellings of the Aleuts and native Kashaya Pomo Indians, a windmill, various farm buildings, granaries, cattle yards, a tannery and workshops gradually appeared.

The little Chapel built at Fort Ross in the early 1820s has, over the years, become a visible symbol of the Colony, and one of the most photographed historic sites in the State of California. As such, it is certainly worthy of closer examination on both the physical and spiritual levels.

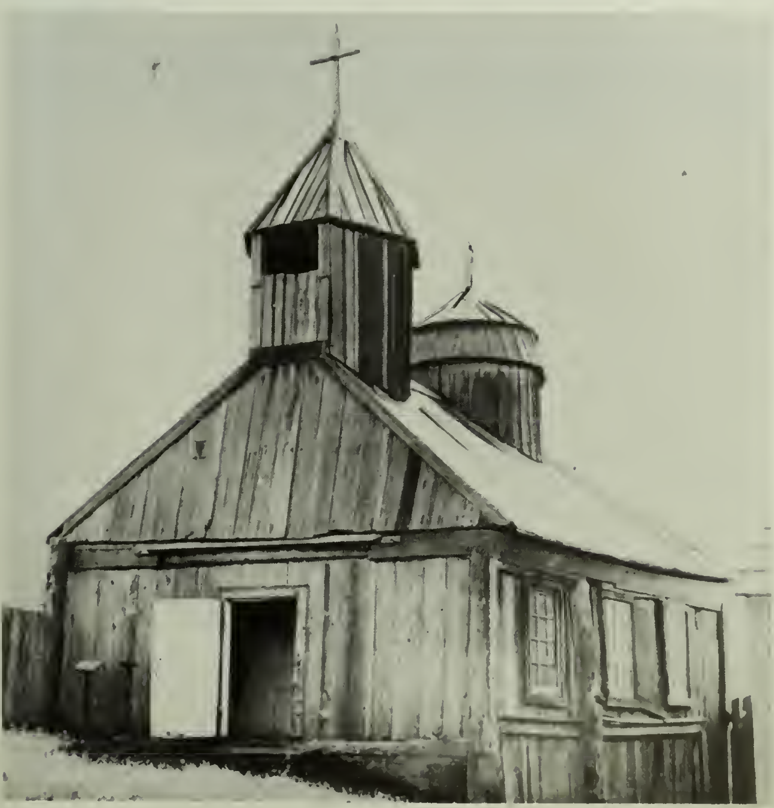
Architecturally speaking, the Chapel reflects the culmination of a long evolution of style modifications in the religious architecture of Russian peasant groups. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the belltower and cupola were separate structures. Gradually, these two structures ultimately coalesced in the design seen at Fort Ross, with belltower and cupola integrated into the same structure.

The Chapel was build of sawed redwood planks utilizing a balloon frame technique with mortised and tendoned joints, while the walls exhibited a puncheon style of construction. The foundations consisted of twenty large pilings placed in a configuration of four rows of five pilings. A gin-pole placed in the center of the cupola facilitated the raising of the structure. The ceiling and interior of the cupola were sheathed in hand-adzed planking and secured with hand-wrought iron nails.

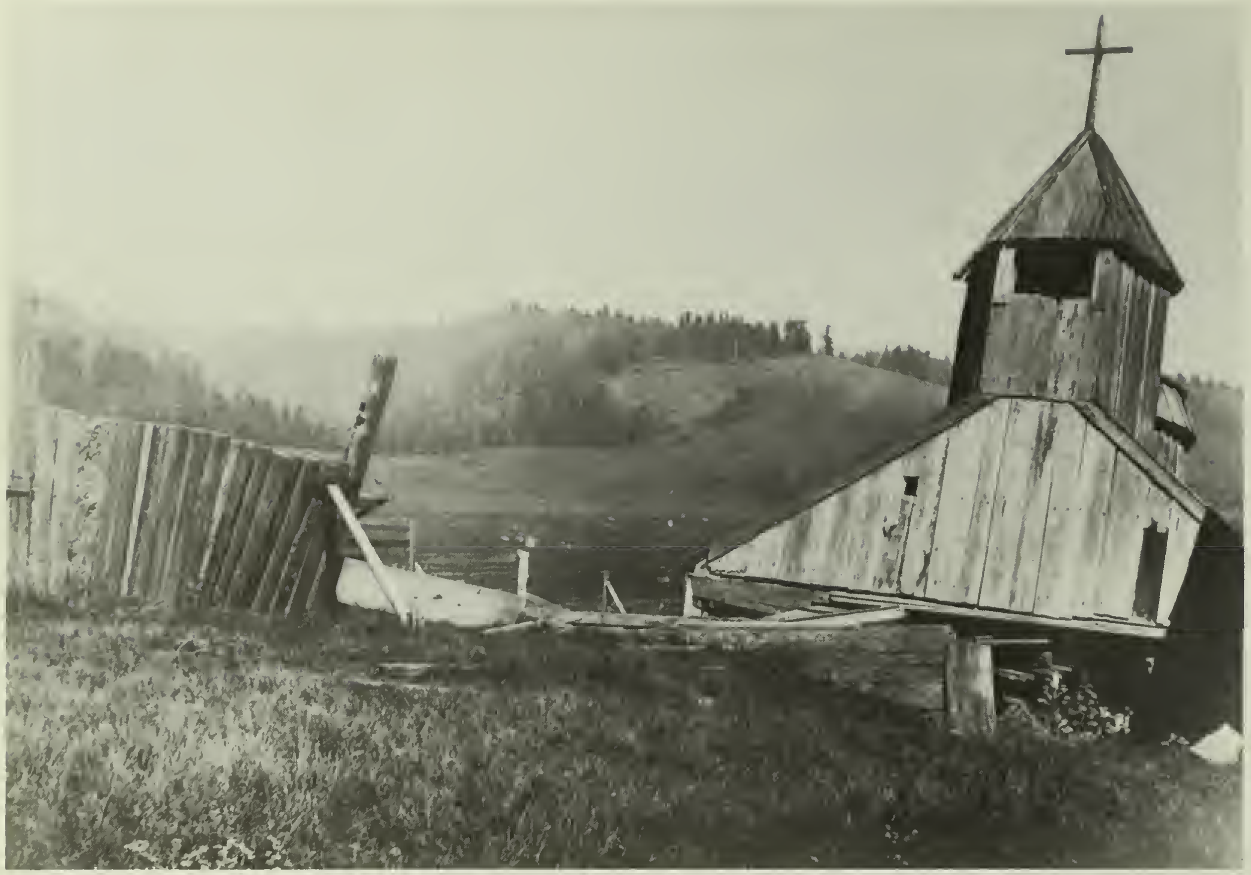
The east and south walls of the Chapel formed the southeast corner of the stockade. Three windows were placed in the panels of the west wall, while two



The Chapel about 1885. Although still in fairly good condition, it is being used as a hay storage shed.



The Chapel following George W. Call's restoration in 1899. Note repair of roof area and replacement of broken windows. The original wooden lecturn and candelabra can be seen to the left of the door.



small, circular windows pierced the east and west sides of the cupola. All windows are believed to have been glazed. The heavy main door to the structure was secured by wooden hinges, and opened into a small vestibule or narthex, which in turn provided entry to the main sanctuary. The altar was placed on the south side of the room, directly beneath the apex of the cupola.

One incongruous feature was a short, wide plank door situated on the east wall. When open, this door essentially pierced the stockade wall itself. No particular reason has been discovered for this anomaly, although a similar feature is known to have existed in the native Chapel constructed at New Archangel. There the outside entrance was used as the entrance for neophytes. The door in the Fort Ross Chapel may have been used for a similar purpose, for it opens directly onto the site of the Kashaya village known to have existed during the Russian occupation.

In terms of size, the overall dimension described by Company officials Kostromitinov and Rotchev in their 1841 inventory was twelve meters deep and eight meters wide.[2] Another historical dimension appears in an early history of Sonoma County. This source noted that the vestibule was 10 x 25 feet, and that the sanctuary or auditorium was 21 x 25 feet —an overall dimension of 31 x 25 feet.[3] Archeological evidence of the placement of the corner posts suggests the structure was approximately 31 x 24 feet. Today there is some question within the Russian Orthodox community concerning the interior partition between the vestibule and sanctuary. Modern practice suggests this partition should not be there. However, all historical and archeological evidence points to the fact that this Chapel did indeed contain a partition.

An inherent flaw in the design of the building was the construction of the foundation and main floor as one unit. The balloon frame and wall puncheons

Following the 1906 earthquake, the walls and foundations of the Chapel were destroyed although the roof remained intact. This photograph shows the amount of displacement from the original foundation.

were stepped upon this foundation, and thus provided no structural strength during the earthquake of 1906. As the walls collapsed separately, the building failed and the roof fell as a complete unit.

Considerable working skill and attention to construction detail was exhibited throughout the structure. One source stated:

> The roof was made of long planks, either sawed or rove from redwood, likewise the side of the Chapel in the Fort . . . A faint attempt at getting out mouldings for the interior door and window casings was made, a bead being worked around the outer edge of the casing, and it was mitered at the corners.[4]

With regard to building detail, the roofs of the cupola and belltower were of redwood shakes and at least one bell hung in the tower during the Russian occupation. There is no indication that either the interior or exterior was ever painted; the natural patina of redwood is of sufficient beauty that the Russians apparently needed no other adornment.

Unfortunately, little documentation of the Chapel's interior appearance exists. Father Ioann Veniaminov, later Bishop of Alaska and Saint Inokentii of the Russian Orthodox Church, visited the colony during July and August of 1836, and recorded in his journal that the interior contained only two small silver-covered statues.[5] There are indications, however, that other furnishings may have existed, for St. Michael's Cathedral of Sitka, Alaska possesses three artifacts purportedly used in the Fort Ross Chapel: a silver goblet, ikon, and breviary.

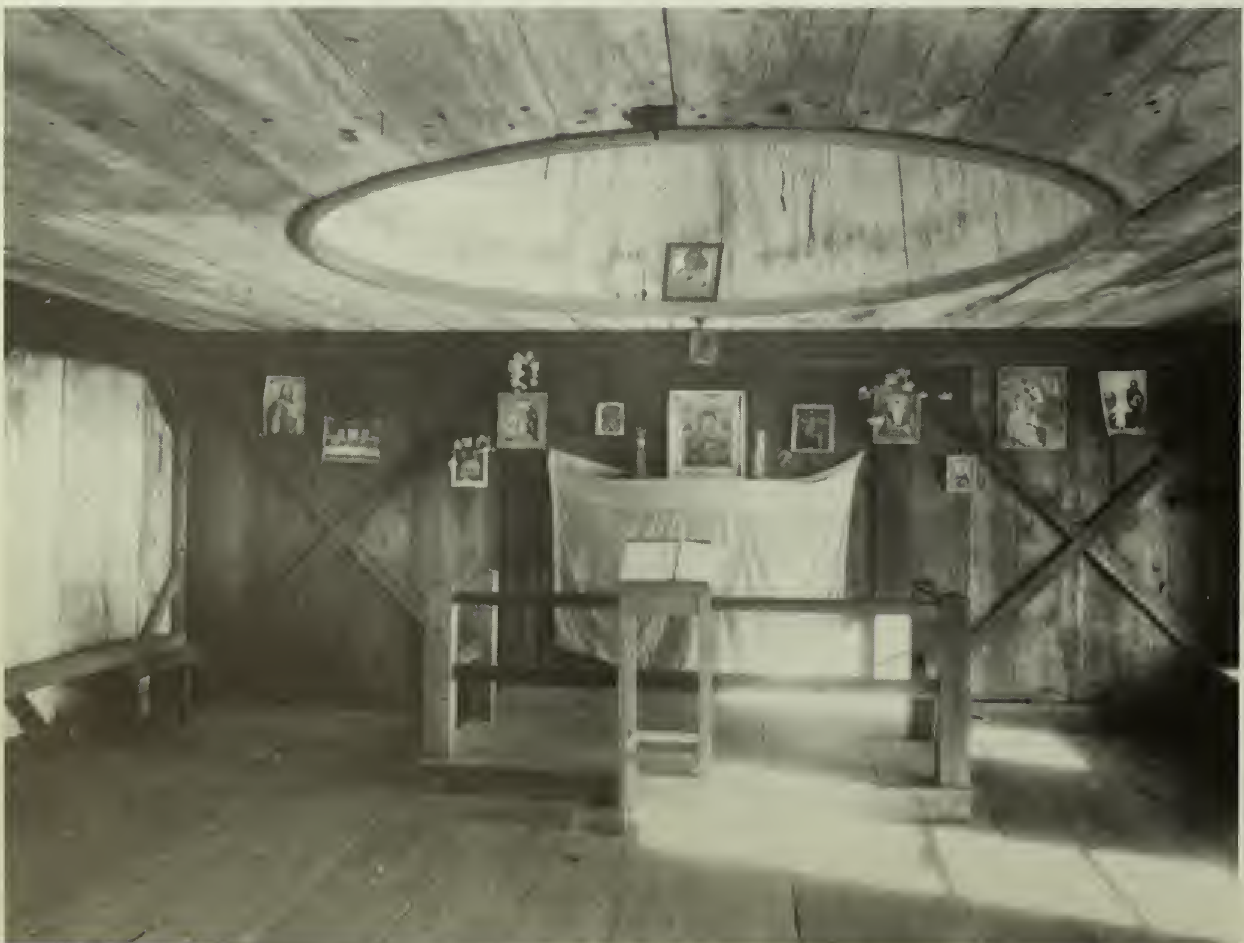
At the time of the Chapel's construction, it is known that Vasily Grudinin, a master shipwright sent from New Archangel by Governor Baranov to oversee the shipbuilding industry at Colony Ross, was in residence at the settlement.[6] During the 1956 reconstruction of the Chapel, it became apparent that either Grudinin or one of his fellow shipwrights occasionally turned their hands to tasks other than shipbuilding. Construction techniques unmistakably similar to those used in construction of oceangoing vessels were found in the original cupola of the Chapel when the outer sheathing was removed. The nautical construction technique known as "ship's knees" was used instead of rafter construction to brace the roof, while the cupola windows were fitted much like portholes of ship's cabins. It is possible that Grudinin was responsible not only for the construction of the Chapel but for its design as well.

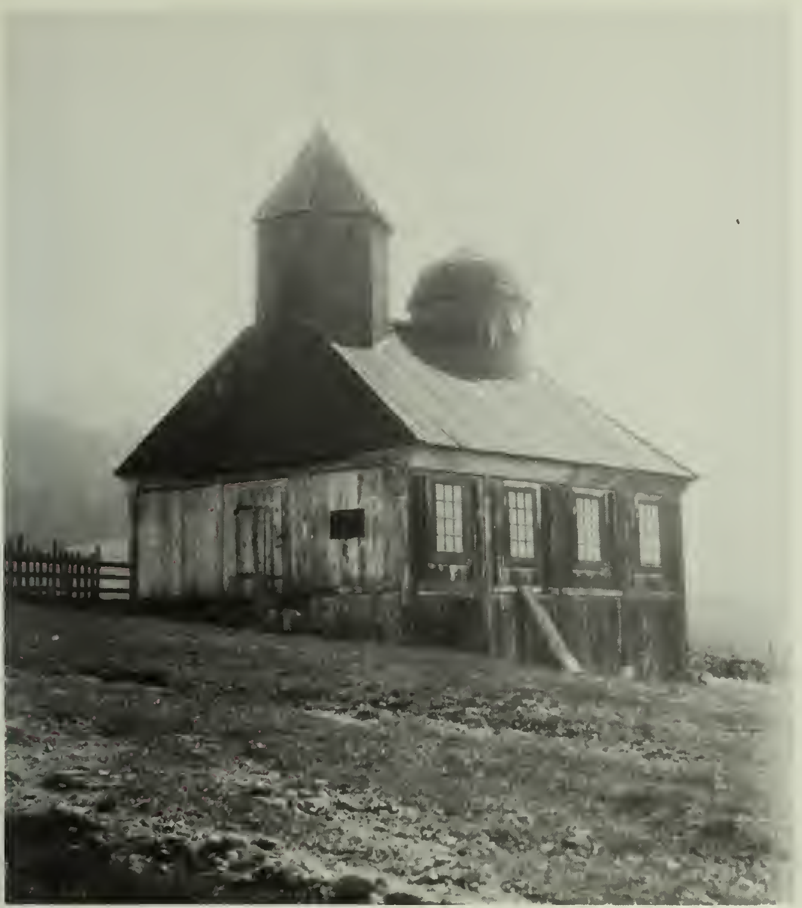
Although information on the historical, physical, and architectural appearance of the Chapel exists, one aspect of its history which remains largely unknown at this time is that of its actual role in the lives of the colonists. It is interesting to note that of all the major structures within the stockade, the Chapel is the only one whose construction date is as yet unverified. Further, it was built at a time when no Russian Orthodox priest was in residence at Fort Ross; in fact, no record that a priest was ever permanently assigned to oversee the spiritual needs of the colony has been found. Today the Chapel holds such visual impact for the visitor, it is difficult to imagine that during Russian occupation it may have been considered a peripheral structure in the overall function of the Colony.

On a spiritual level, there are numerous indications that religion in general played an accepted, integral role in the lives of the colonists of Fort Ross. Indeed, one accepted fact of Russian colonization in North America was the concurrent construction of churches with the trading establishments of the Russian American Company.

At Fort Ross, we know a special religious service was held upon completion of the stockade in 1812—suggesting the general importance of religion in the everyday lives of the citizens of Ross. Yet

The original chandelier recovered by the Russian Orthodox community of San Francisco was rehung in the cupola following 1916 reconstruction. The photograph below shows the interior of the Chapel following 1916 reconstruction. Members of the Russian Orthodox congregation in San Francisco were by this time utilizing the Chapel for special religious observances.





Chapel following the 1916 reconstruction. Note the four windows and side panels.

Father Mariano Payeras, visiting the Colony in October, 1822, prior to the construction of the Chapel, noted there were no priests and asked his diary the cogent question: "Who administers the sacraments?"[7] Theodor Svenin, an officer of the Colony, informed Payeras that all inhabitants of Russian territory were both legitimately baptised and confirmed; moreover major liturgical ceremonies such as marriage could be performed only if no spiritual irregularities existed among the participants.

Father Payeras noted that a priest arrived at Fort Ross during his visit and took care of spiritual matters. Unfortunately, no mention is made of the faith or nationality of the priest, nor from where he came. Father Payeras did state that during the absence of one with spiritual authority, religious needs were attended to by the Commander of the Fort or the Governor at Sitka.

Father Ioann Veniaminov noted in his journal for 1836 that upon his arrival at Fort Ross, the Colony was populated by 260 souls—thirty-nine of whom were converted Indians. Yet a curious ambivalence apparently prevailed among the colonists with regard to religion, for Father Veniaminov further noted that the Russians rarely visited the Chapel.[8]

During his stay at Ross, Father Veniaminov performed numerous pastoral duties. His journal indicates that he performed fourteen marriages twelve children's confirmations, confirmation of two adult Indians, numerous confessions, as well as a daily round of services including vespers, matins, and vigils. These services were well attended. It is therefore possible to conjecture that for these colonists, the Chapel was an outward symbol of an aspect of their lives whose thread ran quietly throughout all activities of the Colony.

As economic conditions gave impetus to creation

The Fort Ross Chapel undergoing the 1956 reconstruction

of this settlement, so were they instrumental in its abandonment. The decimation of the fur seal and sea otter herds, coupled with the failure of the majority of the Russian agricultural and industrial experiments ultimately resulted in the sale of the property by Company officials to John A. Sutter in 1841.

Sutter stripped the buildings and moved many of the accoutrements of the property to New Helvetia, his own settlement in the Sacramento Valley. A visitor in 1842 noted that ornaments from the Chapel as well as other furniture were piled near Fort Ross Cove awaiting shipment to Sutter's Fort.[9] Fort Ross subsequently passed through several hands until 1873, when it was sold to George W. Call. The Fort proper remained in the hands of the Call family until March 23, 1906, when the stockade area, consisting of 3.01 acres, was deeded to the State of California following an interesting series of maneuvers. Fort Ross thus became one of the first officially recognized historic sites in the State of California.[10]

During the years of American occupation, the Chapel led a life atune with those pragmatic times. Although the religious nature of the building was remembered, during the last half of the nineteenth century it served its owners as a hay barn, storage shed—whatever necessity dictated. Yet the sound craftsmanship and solid construction techniques originally used on the structure enabled the Chapel to survive sixty years as a farm outbuilding in relatively good condition.

However, by the late 1890s, George W. Call, astute businessman that he was, recognized the value of the Chapel as a tourist or visitor attraction. A newspaper report of 1899 stated that Call had completed restoration activities on the Chapel.[11] Photographs of the period indicate that Call repaired the belltower, cupola and roof, re-hung the door and replaced broken windows. Further, he apparently made an attempt to gather together what he believed to be original furnishings of the structure. Two wooden pews found in the fur storage barn-cum-ballroom were returned to the Chapel, as were a lecturn and candelabra.

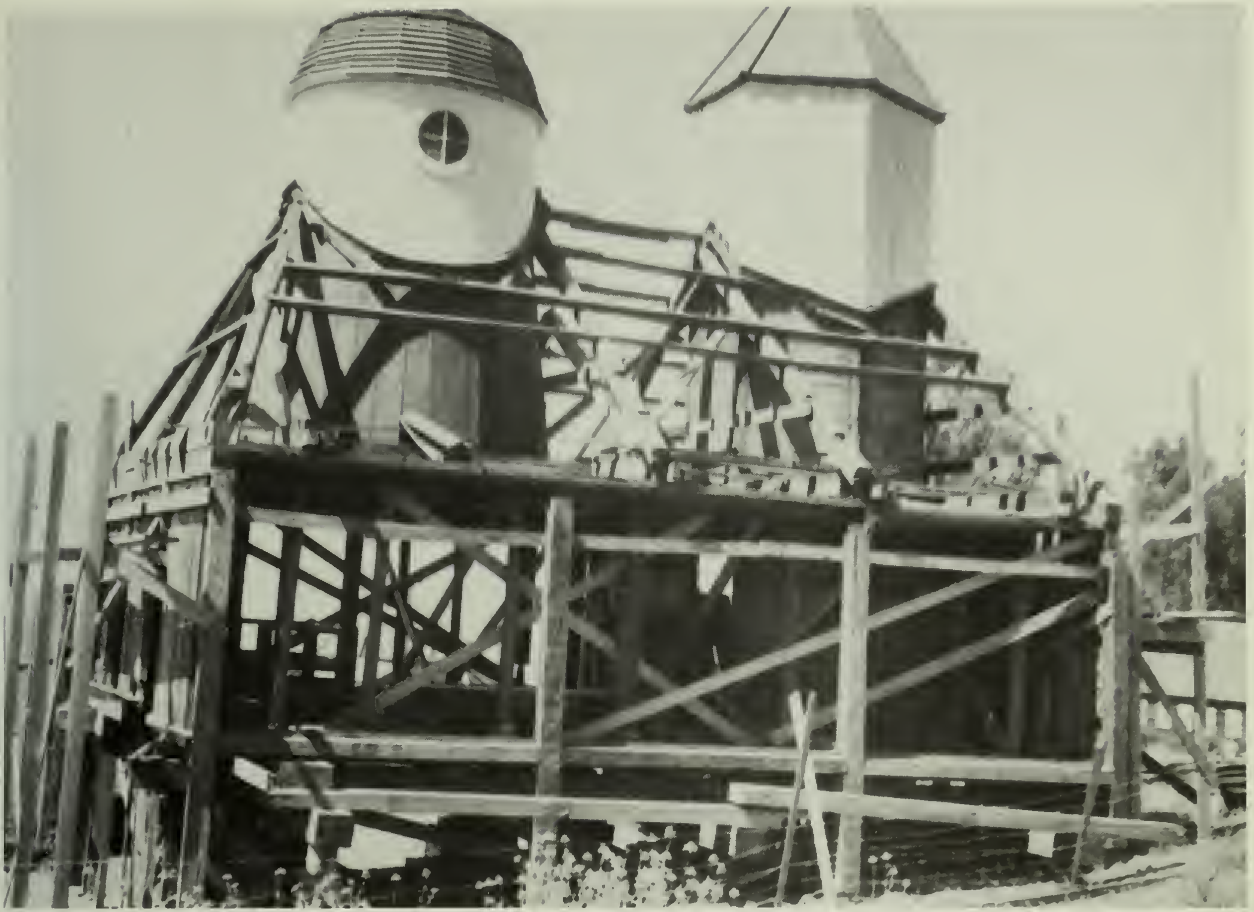
Twenty-seven days after Fort Ross officially became one of California's first historic sites, the great earthquake of April 18, 1906 virtually destroyed San Francisco—and badly damaged Fort Ross. The Chapel, which had survived the onslaught of the elements for so many years, collapsed.

Yet from the chaos of the earthquake, the idea of systematic restoration of the Chapel—and ultimately of the entire Fort—was born. Although the walls of the Chapel had caved in completely, the roof itself had fallen to the ground almost totally intact.

Ten years were to pass before active restoration of the Chapel could proceed. Spurred by the efforts of the Call family, the State of California finally appropriated $3,000 in the fall of 1916 to aid in the reconstruction effort.

The 1916 reconstruction of the Chapel consisted primarily of raising the roof with the belltower and cupola intact and building a new system of walls and foundations. Unfortunately, in order to provide timber which would match the original wood of the Chapel, the equally ancient Officials' Barracks was demolished.[12] Timbers from that structure were used as the main support of the reconstructed Chapel, while additional board lumber was obtained elsewhere for the roof and siding.

Working without the benefit of archeological or historical research, the participants in the 1916 reconstruction made several modifications to the original structure. Due to the earthquake damage sustained by the ceiling joists and roof beams, an



extra wall stud was needed for support. This increased the number of panels in the south wall to four and due to this configuration, four windows replaced the original three.

This embryonic reconstruction attempt also resulted in relocating the foundations slightly at variance with the original alignment of the building. Later archeological excavations indicated that the 1916 foundations were somewhat out of alignment, i.e., sixteen inches at the northwest corner, eight inches on the east, and six inches to the north.[14] In addition, for some undetermined reason, the entire building was from eighteen to twenty-four inches higher than the original structure, necessitating modification of the porch.[15]

The Chapel, as reconstructed in 1916, stood basically unchanged until 1956. Despite its unfortunate architectural errors, this reconstruction did result in the opening of the historic structure to the general public. Furthermore, following the building effort, members of the Russian Orthodox congregation in San Francisco began a tradition which survives to this day of observing special liturgical holidays in the Chapel built by their departed countrymen. Through their efforts, the original bell and original chandelier were found and replaced in the structure.

Yet, with regard to overall dimensions, placement and number of windows, and height of floor sills, it became increasingly apparent that the Chapel did not conform closely enough to even the meager historical evidence known of its appearance. In 1956, following results of the 1953 archeological investigations, the decision was made by the State of California to renovate the entire structure in order to correct the errors of the 1916 reconstruction.

Thus, in 1956 the building was shifted back to conform more closely to its original position. Con-

siderable renovation of the interior was done as well, and the extra window and panel were removed from the west wall. But technical difficulties still marred the work, and in this reconstruction the floor level was raised even more than in the 1916 effort. As a result, the floor sills and joists were as much as several feet higher than the original. Due to increased space beneath the floor at the rear of the Chapel, a basement was included.[16]

On October 5, 1970, the Chapel was destroyed by a fire of unknown origin, apparently started in the non-historic basement. During the following year, the sole remaining historic building, the Rotchev House, suffered nearly the same fate as the Chapel.

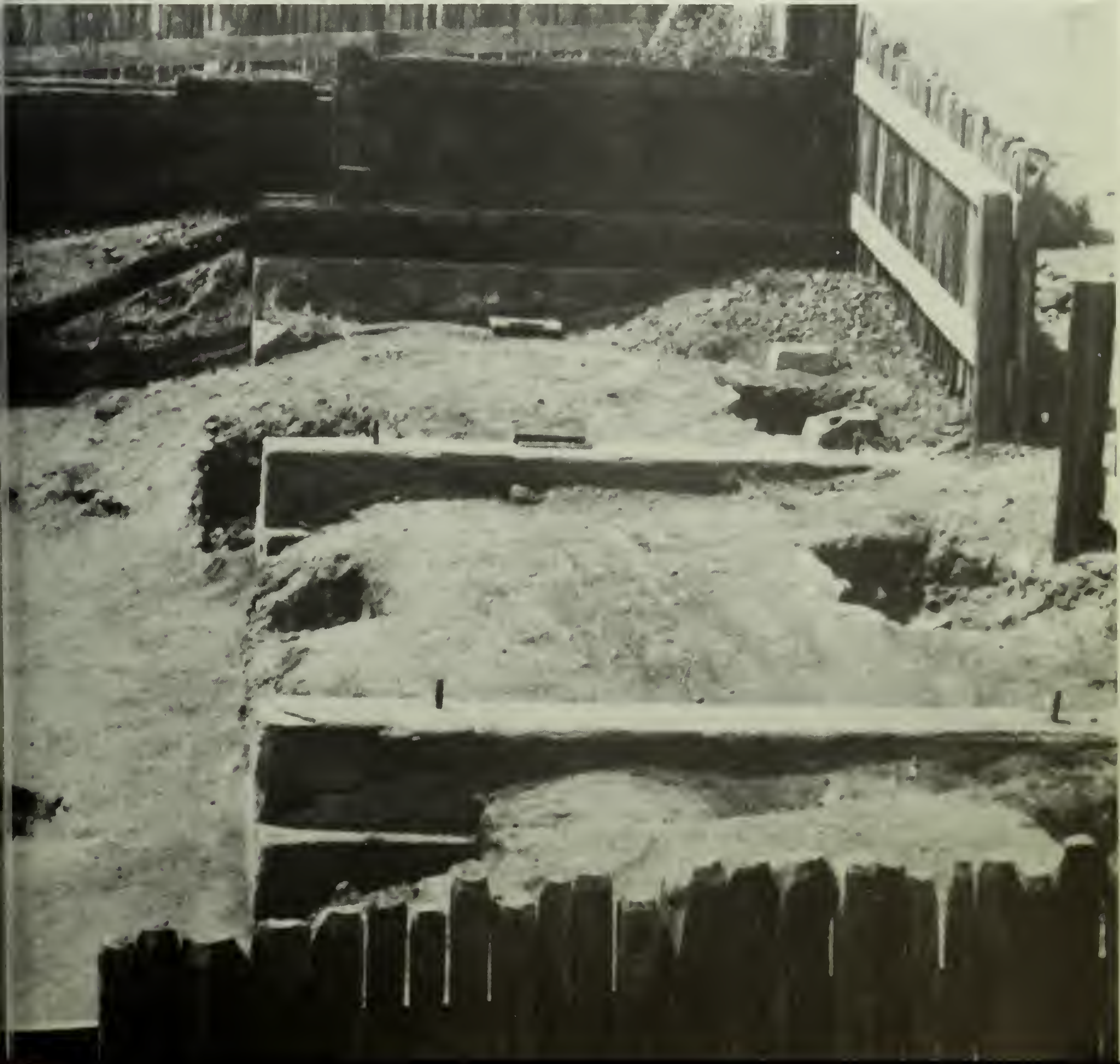
In 1972, the Department of Parks and Recreation, already deeply involved in major historical and archeological investigations at the Fort, immediately made plans for a third reconstruction of the Chapel and recommitted itself to the total restoration of Fort Ross. The third reconstruction, completed in 1973, based its efforts not only upon the extensive archeological data and painstaking historical and graphic research which had been carried out on the Chapel during the years following the 1956 reconstruction, but upon records of previous reconstructions as well.[17]

The Chapel now standing at Fort Ross is as close in construction detail, alignment and configuration as exhaustive research can document. Although the historic fabric of the structure no longer exists, the spirit of this little Chapel has survived 155 years of hostile elements, neglect, pragmatic use, earthquake, fire, and thousands of visitors to take its place as one of the most historic sites in California. It is truly the living symbol of Fort Ross, and a visible token of commitment to excellence in the field of historical reconstruction.

The photographs are courtesy of the authors and the California Department of Parks and Recreation.

It is almost certain that the Chapel was designed and constructed by one or more of the skilled shipwrights in residence at Fort Ross between 1818-1825. This picture, taken during the 1956 reconstruction of the Chapel, shows the interior of the cupola. These original timbers show unmistakable similarities to construction techniques used in sea-going vessels.

A photograph taken in July of 1971 of archeological excavation done prior to 1973 reconstruction of the Chapel. The concrete piers are the footing of the 1956 restoration work. The square pits between the footings are the post molds of the original footings.



Notes

1. Numerous works exist covering the history of the Russian American Company and that of Fort Ross. A recent publication of the California Department of Parks and Recreation, *Notes Toward a Bibliography of Sources Relating to Fort Ross State Historic Park,* by John A. Hussey, is the most complete compendium of sources to date. Several of the most definitive works in English are:

   Essig, E. O. "The Russian Settlement at Ross." *California Historical Society Quarterly,* XII (September, 1933), pp. 191-216.

   Fort Ross. Indians–Russians–Americans. Text by Diane Spencer-Hancock, graphics by Michael S. Tucker. Bickford O'Brian, editor. Fort Ross Interpretive Association, 1978.

   Haase, Inez. *The Russian American Company in California.* Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1952.

   Khlevnikov, K. T. *Colonial Russian America. Kyrill T. Khlevnikov's Reports, 1817-1832.* Translated with introduction and notes by Basil Dmytryshyn and E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughn. Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1976.

   Okun, S. B. *The Russian American Company.* Translated by Carl Ginsburg. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951.

   Schwarz, Harvey. "Fort Ross, California." *Journal of the West,* (Spring, 1979), p. 40.

   Tikhmenev, P. A. *A History of the Russian American Company.* Translated and edited by Richard A. Pierce and Alton Donnelly. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978.

   Numerous works exist which discuss particular aspects of Fort Ross history, or which have a general bearing on the interpretation of that story. See particularly:

   Alekseev, A. *I G. Voznesenskii.* Moscow: Nauka Publishers, 1977.

   Bolkhovitinov, Nikolai N. *Russian American Relations 1815-1832.* Moscow: Nauka Publishers, 1975.

   Federova, Svetlana. *The Russian Population in Alaska and California: Late 18th Century-1867.* Translated and edited by Richard A. Pierce and Alton S. Donnelly. Kingston, Ontario: Limestone Press, 1973.

   Gibson, James R. *Imperial Russia in Frontier America: The Changing Geography of Supply of Russian America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

   Kushner, Howard. *Conflict on the Northwest Coast.* Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishers, 1976.

   Ogden, Adele. *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1818.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941.
2. Duflot de Mofras, Eugene. *Melanges pare M. de Mofras.* Vol. II. pp. 3–49. MS. in Bancroft Library. Translated by Nicholas Rokitiansky and edited by Diane Spencer-Hancock. Unpublished MS. in the History Center, De Anza College, California. *See also* Haase, Inez. *The Russian American Company in California,* Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1952, p. 37.
3. Munro Frazer, J.D. *History of Sonoma County, Including Its Geology, Topography, Mountains and Streams.* San Francisco: Alley, Bowen & Company, 1879, p. 365. *See also* Haase, *Russian American Company,* Apparently the de Mofras translation of Kostromitinov and Rotchev's inventory of 1841 is slightly in error. Archeological excavations in 1972 revealed that the physical dimensions of the Chapel from the post molds are 23′8″ x 31′.
4. Munro-Frazer, *History of Sonoma County.* Several sources mention that Munro-Frazer's details regarding the Chapel are based on the notes of Earnest Rufus. Rufus, in partnership with William O. Benitz, owned Fort Ross from 1847-67. Careful readingof Munro-Frazer's text, at p. 366, however, raises some questions that this is indeed the case.
5. Veniaminov, Ioann. *Petevoi Zhurnal sviashchennika Ioanna Veniminova vendennyi vo vremia puteshestviia ego v Kaliforniiu i obratne a z-go iiulia po 13 Oktiabria 1836 g.* Transcribed by M. Buranov. Extract in Bancroft Library from original in Alaska Archives, Juneau, Alaska, p. I. *See also* Gibson, James. "A Russian Orthodox Priest in a Mexican Catholic Parish," *Pacific Historian,* Vol. 15, No. 2.
6. Gibson, James. "Russian America in 1833." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly,* Vol. 15, No. 2.
7. Payeras, Father Mariano, pp. 42–43.
8. Gibson, "A Russian Orthodox Priest," p. 61.
9. Waseurtz, G. M. *A Sojourn in California by the King's Orphan.* Ed by Helen P. Van Sicklen. San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1945. p. 81.
10. *Fort Ross. Indians–Russians–Americans.* Test by Diane Spencer-Hancock, Graphics by Michael S. Tucker, Fort Ross Intepretive Association, 1978, p. 27.
11. San Francisco *Examiner,* July 27, 1899.
12. *Fort Ross. Indians–Russians–Americans,* p. 34.
13. *Ibid. See also* Pritchard, William E. *An Archeological Study of the Chapel at Colony Ross.* Report on file with Cultural Resources Unit, Department of Parks and Recreation, Sacramento, California. July, 1972, p. 15.

14. Treganza, Adan. *Fort Ross: A Study in Historical Archeology.* Reports of the University of California Archeological Survey, No. 23. Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. January 15, 1954, p. 12.
15. Pritchard, *An Archeological Study,* pp. 8, 14.
16. *Ibid.,* p. 8.
17. Numerous unpublished historical and archeological research papers regarding Fort Ross exist within the Resource Preservation and Interpretation Division of the California Department of Parks and Recreation. Some of them which have been identified are:
    Crandall, Thomas. *The Story of Fort Ross.* 1966.
    Pritchard, William E. *An Archeological Study,* 1972.
    Spencer-Hancock, Diane. *Fort Ross State Historic Park Graphics Collection.* 3 Vols. 1977.
    Thomas, Bryn. *Progress Report. Commandant's House.* 1976 Field Season.
    Thomas, Bryn. *Historic Sites Research at Fort Ross, California. Officials' Quarters.* June, 1976.
    Thomas, Bryn. *Progress Report, Officials' Quarters,* 1976 Field Season.
    Tucker, Michael S. *Kuskov House Interpretive Plan, Phase I,* 1977.
    Tucker, Michael S. *Officials' Barracks Interpretive Plan, Phase I,* 1978.
    Schwartz, Harvey. Fort Ross Interpretive Plan. 1976.
    Treganza, Adan. *Fort Ross: A Study in Historical Archeology.*

    While no official reports on any of the reconstructions are known to exist, the files of Fort Ross State Historic Park contain much information, particularly regarding the 1956 reconstruction, thanks to the efforts of John C. McKenzie, Supervising Ranger of the park for many years.

Bloomerism Comes To California

Early in July 1851 a dress shop on San Francisco's Clay Street was seen to be attracting an inordinate amount of attention. In the window was a figure dressed in Bloomers, the latest thing in ladies' attire. Mrs. Cole, the proprietor, herself wore a bloomer in the shop. "It is really very pretty," said the *Alta California*. "It consists of green merino, fitting well to the figure above the waist and reaching below the knee some 3 or 4 inches. Below this are loose, flowing trowsers [sic] of pink satin, fastened below the ancle [sic]." The report added that patterns were for sale and ladies had already placed orders for three of the daring costumes.[1]

The bloomer was indeed a radical change from woman's customary dress, at that time consisting of sweeping petticoats, as many as six and weighing up to fifteen pounds, apparently designed to conceal the fact that the female of the species had a pair of legs. The skirts were worn over corsets reinforced with whalebone and laced as tightly as the lady could stand.

The story of Mrs. Cole's shop was picked up by the New York *Tribune*. Under the headline, "Bloomerism in California," it noted the excitement caused by the San Francisco window display. A crowd of men, it reported, stood about the door and window all day and evening to get a peep at the lady in bloomers. "Persons were hired to enter to make a purchase, so as to draw her from the back room into a position visible through the window." The new style was "the most momentous topic which has excited the public mind for a long while. I should not be surprised," added the correspondent, "to see it generally adopted."[2]

Within a week the costume appeared on the street. The *Alta* reporter saw a woman crossing the Plaza

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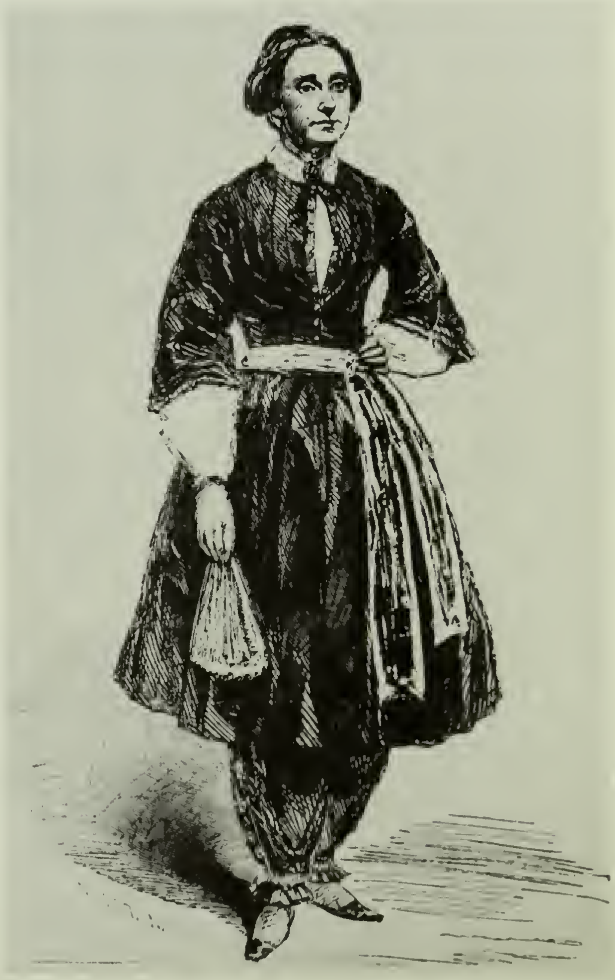
Marion Tinling is a full-time writer in the field of women's history. Her article on Hermione Day and the *Hesperian* appeared in the Winter 1980/81 issue of *California History*.

"dressed in a style a little beyond the Bloomer. She was magnificently arrayed in a black satin skirt, very short, with flowing red satin trousers, a splendid yellow crape shawl and a silk turban *à la Turque*. She really looked magnificent and was followed by a large retinue of men and boys, who appeared to be highly pleased with the style."[3] One of those who followed may have been Alfred Doten, who noted in his journal that he "twigged the *'bloomer costumes,'* which are quite plenty now." A few days earlier he had been surprised and pleased to see pretty girls in a saloon dressed in the Turkish trousers.[4]

The *Alta* suggested that San Franciscans were predisposed to accept "bifidity" because they were used to seeing Chinese women on the streets in trousers. It could not resist poking fun at the fashion. "The adoption of the new dress," it said, "will destroy some of the poetical ideas which have associated themselves with the long skirts. The old couplet: 'Her feet beneath her petticoat / Like little mice stole in and out', will have to be changed to something like: 'Her feet from out her trouserloons / Hang like the cars from air balloons'."[5]

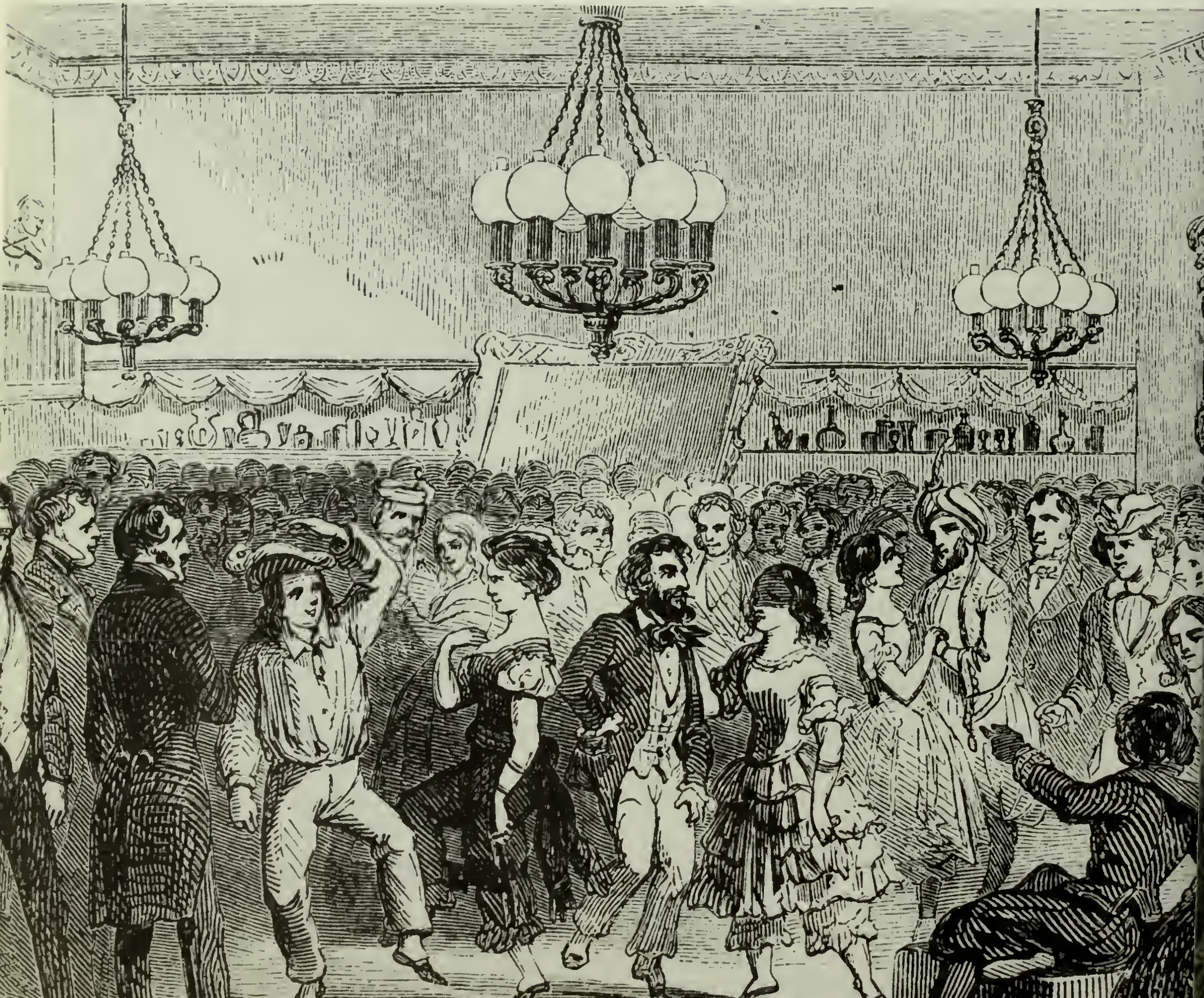
Alonzo Delano, in his *California Correspondence,* slyly remarked that the Indian women had greatly improved on the bloomer. "From neck to heels they wear only a small grass apron. This they say does not impede the free use of their limbs and is much more comfortable in hot weather; besides 'tain't half the trouble to dress and undress."[6]

The bloomer did not originate in the west but in rural New York state, and considering that Amelia Bloomer, whose name became attached to the costume, began to wear the "shorts" no sooner than March 1851, its transference to the west coast, complete with patterns, was remarkably rapid. Bloomer was not the inventor of the fashion. She had seen it early in the year worn by Elizabeth Smith Miller, who, it is thought, copied the short dresses



A woodcut of Amelia Bloomer in the costume bearing her name appeared in her newspaper, The Lily, *September 9, 1851.*

Women wore the pantaloons for a fancy dress ball at the California Exchange. Frank Soule published this woodcut in his Annals of San Francisco, 1854.



worn by women in Swiss sanitariums. She wore the outfit when visiting her cousin, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, in Seneca Falls, New York, the town that had just three years earlier held the first meeting in the nation called by women to discuss their civil rights. Stanton, chief organizer of that upstart convention, was delighted with the new style and adopted it at once. She wore it on a visit to the post office, where Mrs. Bloomer, deputy postmistress, made her office a gathering place for women, editing there a paper, *The Lily,* devoted to women's issues. Bloomer, too, was intrigued with the dress and published in the March *Lily* an editorial in favor of it.

The New York papers took note of Bloomer's editorial and it was reprinted in the London *Times* on May 31. The costume was forthwith dubbed the Bloomer. Fashion magazines commented on the dress, and women by the score wrote to the *Lily* for patterns. By the summer of 1851 the style had migrated not only to California but to London and Paris. "Sightings" were noted in Milwaukee, Battle Creek, Florida, Washington and throughout New England. All through the summer and into the following year the new fashion was treated as a major item of news, with papers taking sides for and against. The bloomer was adopted with enthusiasm by women of fashion, but made its greatest appeal to health reformers and advocates of women's rights. The costume had, as a matter of fact, been worn by the women of the Oneida Community before Elizabeth Miller rediscovered it. Soon it became a symbol of feminism—a statement of freedom from restricting, uncomfortable clothing, as well as from what women saw as man's attempt to enforce these and other restraints.[7]

Soon it became a symbol of feminism—a statement of freedom. . . .

With the papers so full of news about the fashion, it was not surprising that the bloomer quickly reached the west coast. Immigrants arrived in California in great numbers every day, many from the eastern states, bringing with them papers and books, household goods and styles. Elizabeth Gunn, wife of Sonora's pioneer newspaper editor, arrived in San Francisco in August, where she was met by her husband. He had heard of Mrs. Cole's bloomer display and wished to visit the shop before they traveled on to the home he had prepared for the family in the mountains. She informed him that she did not want to take the time to stop just then; besides, she had a bloomer costume in her trunk. We cannot explain the fact that when she packed the trunk, before leaving Philadelphia for a six-months' journey around the Horn, the *Lily*'s famous editorial had yet to appear. Perhaps Elizabeth made her dress after reading about the actress Fanny Kemble, who wore Turkish trousers publicly in 1849. If Mrs. Gunn was a reader of Bloomer's paper, she may have read in December of that year about Kemble's "dress falling a little below the knees, and loose pantalettes."[8]

In spite of her approval of the costume, however, Elizabeth was reluctant to wear it in the mining town. Writing to her sister in Philadelphia she confessed that she had not had it on yet, "but if you could see the dust here, you would think it was the dress for this country, both in wet and dry season."[9]

Women in the west had every reason to wish to do away with long skirts. In San Francisco they had to walk through mud or dust, depending on the weather. In 1851 only one street was planked. In addition the walkways were littered with trash, garbage, tobacco juice and worse. All such flotsam was swept up by the long skirts. Washing was difficult, if not impossible, so hems remained filthy and unsanitary. In the countryside and mining camps women were doing outdoor work where trousers seemed much more practical than long dresses. And if ever there was a time and place for short skirts, surely it was in travel before roads were built over the plains, through rough terrain and over the stony, brush-covered mountain trails. Wearing pants in such cases was less a feminist statement than an adaptation to a new and radically different life style.

Such was the case with Eliza Farnham, who came to California in 1849 to look after the estate her husband had left her. Before she came, she tried to enlist in the east a company of "intelligent, virtuous and efficient" women to migrate to the west, "believing that the presence of women would be one of the surest checks upon many of the evils that are apprehended there" during the early days of the Gold Rush. Unsuccessful in getting a group together, Eliza came herself with one friend and her two sons. The farm which was to be her home was in Santa Cruz. The dwelling there was a rough shanty without doors or windows. All able-bodied men had gone to the mines, so it was incumbent on Eliza to build her own shelter.

"I commenced my new business," she said, "in the ordinary long dress, but its extreme inconvenience in displacing all the smaller tools, effacing lines, and flying in the teeth of the saw, induced me, after the second day, to try the suit I had worn at home in gymnastic exercises. It is the same that has since become famous as the Bloomer, though then the name had not been heard of. When I had once put it on, I could never get back into skirts during working hours." At first she kept a wary eye out for visitors, fearing to be caught so daringly attired, but soon she felt so comfortable in her working clothes that she forgot possible embarrassments.[10]

Students at the Benicia Female Seminary were self-conscious when they had to wear bloomers for gymnasium exercises. They did not know that their principal, Mary Atkins, adopted the costume for her sea voyage to California in 1854.

California women had already been seen traveling, or working in the mines, wearing trousers. A woman dressed as a man and doing a man's work in Jackson Gate was called "Madame Pantaloons."[11] Wives wearing miners' pants and shirts toiled beside their husbands at the rocker. Mrs. Gunn found teen-aged girls in the Mother Lode dressed like boys to avoid the notice of woman-hungry ruffians. Though these instances were rare enough to attract attention, they showed that some women were courageous enough to adapt to the new environment regardless of social dictates.

Louise Clapp, whose classic *Shirley Letters* give us an unforgettable picture of life in the rough mining camps on the Feather River, talked to many women on their arrival in California from the east and thoroughly approved their adoption of the bloomer for travel across the plains, "frightful as it is on all other occasions." In a previous letter she had expressed her dislike of the new style and the "strong-minded Bloomers" who wore it.[12]

"Bloomerism has done wonders for Oregon," wrote an observer in 1853. "All the women emigrants, who cross the plains, dress in that style."[13] As late as 1860 a traveler reported that "the bloomer costume is considerably in vogue, and appears peculiarly adapted to overland travel." He described one woman so dressed who resembled "an ambulatory cotton bale, or a peripatetic haystack" as she walked and drove her oxen along the trail.[14] That same year the English traveler Richard Burton spoke of meeting, west of Fort Laramie, two ladies, one a Bloomer, "an uncouth being" in a dress and pants of brown glazed calico.[15]

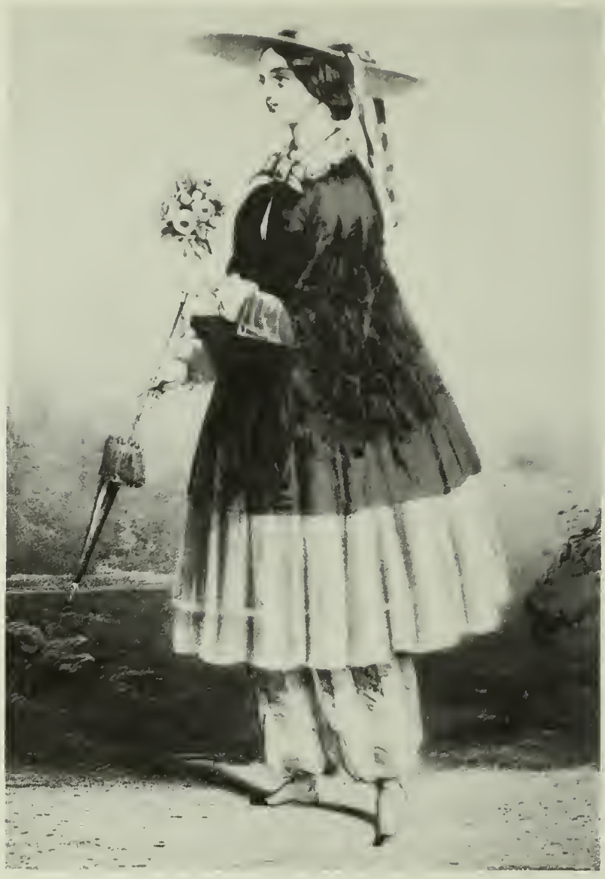
Two women dressed in brown linen bloomers embarked in New York for California via Panama in 1854. A fellow passenger, Major Sherman, noted the laughter that greeted their arrival and made it his business to become acquainted with them.[16] One was Sarah Pellet, of Massachusetts, who was planning to lecture on temperance. She was a student at Oberlin College, active in the women's suffrage movement, and an admirer of Lucy Stone, one of the first eastern feminists to wear the bloomer. The other was Mary Atkins, who intended to establish a girls' school in California. The two had met at Oberlin, where both belonged to the Female Reform Society.

Women, as well as men, decried the ugliness and sexlessness of the costume.

Major Sherman admitted that the bifurcated costume was highly appropriate for riding mules across the Panamanian mountains, for ladies had to ride astride like everyone else. He advised the women, however, to abandon the bloomers if they wished to succeed in their new endeavors. Evidently they took his advice, for both succeeded. Mary Atkins bought the Benicia Female Seminary, where she imparted her spirit of independence to a generation of young ladies. The seminary was later sold to the Reverend Cyrus and Susan Mills, moved to Oakland, and became the present great Mills College. Sarah Pellet was a major attraction as a speaker on temperance in Weaverville, Sonora, and Downieville. She persuaded John Bidwell to give up selling liquor to travelers at his Chico hostelry, though she was less successful in talking John Sutter out of the use of booze.[17]

Amelia Bloomer herself brought the costume westward when she moved in 1853 to Ohio and in 1855 to Council Bluffs, Iowa. The *Lily* then ceased publication, but the cause of dress reform was carried on by another paper published in New York, the *Sibyl*. Its editor, Lydia Sayer Hasbrouck, began by criticizing the early proponents of the bloomer for abandoning the cause. Most of them had given up the dress, realizing that it focused and perpetuated criticism of the women's rights issue. At the 1855 National Women's Rights Convention in Cincinnati, local newspapers commented with surprise that a few stalwart women were still in bloomers.[18]

The Bloomer migrated to England, where it was the subject of comic plays and songs.



It was precisely because the short dress was adopted by Stanton and her friends, whose reforms were uniformly unpopular with the press, that it had been seized upon by critics to depict its wearers as strong-minded, anti-male, unwomanly and without charm. It became the butt of jokes and cartoons, as well as songs and comedies. Clergymen fulminated against the revealing dress and accused its wearers of assuming male prerogatives, favoring free love, and breaking up the home. Women, as well as men, decried the ugliness and sexlessness of the costume. Anne Royall, journalist from Washington, condemned it. "Do our sisters intend to part with their last and best Treasure—modesty . . . the sweet rounding waist, the unspeakable charm of a swelling bosom?"[19] Louisa McCord, a southerner, admitted that had the costume been the invention of a Parisian *modiste,* "imagined womanishly and worn womanishly, we would not have hesitated to recommend it." But as the rallying standard of women's rights advocates, she considered it unfit for a modest female.[20]

Among contributors to the *Sibyl* was young Julia Archibald Holmes, who joined a wagon train from Kansas to Pikes Peak in 1858. She kept a journal of her trip and sent extracts to the *Sibyl* for her "sisters in reform" to read. She believed she was "the first woman who has worn the 'American costume' across that prairie sea." She wore a calico dress, pants of the same, Indian moccasins, and a hat. (The brimmed hat, tied under the chin, instead of the frilled bonnet or sunbonnet, had become an indispensable adjunct of the trousers.) "However much it lacked in taste," reported Julia, "I found it to be beyond value in comfort and convenience, as it gave me freedom to roam at pleasure in search of flowers and other curiosities, while the cattle continued their slow and measured pace." She was quite disappointed to discover that the only other woman in her train abjured the freedom of pants and confined herself to "feminine impotence" in the hot covered wagon. After arrival in Colorado, energetic Julia became the first white woman to climb to the summit of Pike's Peak.[21]

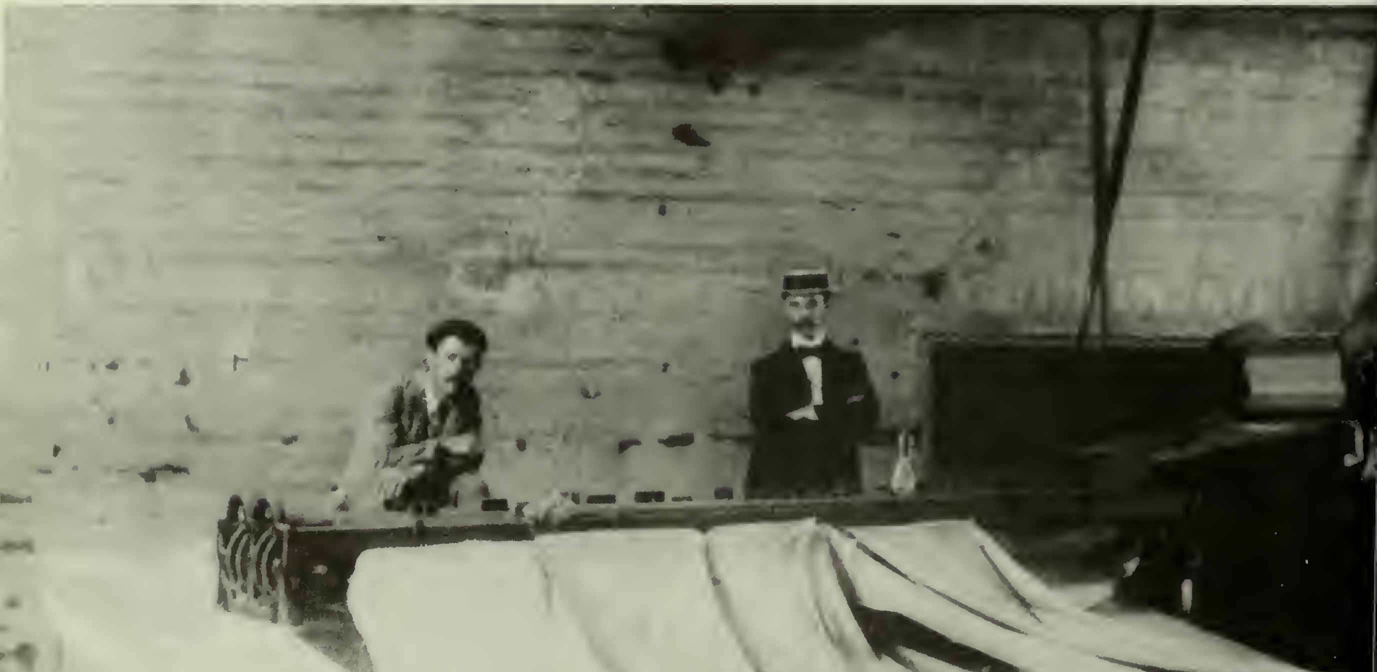
Practical as the reform dress was for travel and for the multitude of indoor and outdoor tasks performed by active western women, they soon abandoned it in submission to the dictates of fashion. It did not catch on with San Francisco ladies, probably because it was immediately taken up by the dance hall girls, who wore it in places like the California Exchange. Even women who lived among the mud and dust and prickly bushes in the mining towns clung to skirts. Elizabeth Gunn wrote her sisters in Pennsylvania for patterns for the latest in sleeves. The *Hesperian,* published by and for women in San Francisco, distributed the paper patterns for dresses just developed by Madame Demorest of New York.[22] California women followed their eastern counterparts in leaving the reform dress to health faddists and others like the Oneida Community women. They agreed with Dame Shirley who confessed "to an almost religious veneration for trailing drapery . . . I pin my vestural faith with unflinching obstinacy to sweeping petticoats."

The illustrations on page 19 and 24 are courtesy of the New York Historical Society. The photograph of Mary Atkins and the dress ball woodcut are from the California State Library, Sacramento.

Notes

1. Julia Cooley Altrocchi, "Paradox Town: San Francisco in 1851," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 28 (March, 1949), quoting *Alta California*, July 8, 1851.
2. Charles Nelson Gattey, *The Bloomer Girls* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1968).
3. Altrocchi, quoting *Alta*, July 14, 1851.
4. Alfred Doten, *The Journals of Alfred Doten, 1849-1903*, ed. Walter T. Clark (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1973), entries for July 10 and 15, 1851.
5. Altrocchi, quoting *Alta*, July 11, 1851.
6. *Alonzo Delano's California Correspondence* (Sacramento: Sacramento Book Collector's Club, 1952).
7. Paul Fatout, "Amelia Bloomer and Bloomerism," *The New York Historical Society Quarterly*, 36 (October 1952). See also Constance Noyes Robertson, ed., *The Oneida Community* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1970).
8. Fatout, quoting "Mrs. Kemble and Her New Costume," *The Lily*, 1 (December 1, 1849).
9. Anna Lee Marston, ed., *Records of a California Family: Journals and Letters of Lewis C. Gunn and Elizabeth Le Breton Gunn* (San Diego: Reprinted, Donald I. Segerstrom Memorial Fund, 1974).
10. Eliza Farnham, *California In-doors and Out* (Facsimile, Introduction by Madeline B. Stern, Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1972).
11. Mildred B. Hoover, et al. *Historic Spots in California* (3d edition; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966).
12. Louise Clapp, *The Shirley Letters* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1973).
13. "The Oregon and California Letters of Bradford Ripley Alden," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 28 (September 1949).
14. Louise Barry, "Albert D. Richardson's Letters on the Pike's Peak Gold Region," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 12 (February 1943).
15. Richard F. Burton, *The City of Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1963).
16. Allen B. Sherman, ed., "Sherman Was There. The Recollections of Major Edwin A. Sherman," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 23-24 (September 1944-September 1945).
17. Rockwell D. Hunt, *John Bidwell, Prince of Pioneers* (Caldwell: Caxton Printers. 1942). Richard Dillon, *Fool's Gold: The Decline and Fall of John Sutter* (New York: Coward McCann, Inc., 1967).
18. "Lydia Sayer Hasbrouck" in *Notable American Women, 1607-1950*, ed. Edward T. James et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971). Eleanor Rice Hayes, *Morning Star: A Biography of Lucy Stone* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961).
19. Bessie Rowland James, *Anne Royall's U.S.A.* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1972). Theodore Stanton and Harriott S. Blatch, eds., *Elizabeth Cady Stanton as Revealed in Her Letters* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922).
20. Margaret Farrand Thorpe, *Female Persuasion: Six Strong-Minded Women* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), quoting McCord.
21. Julia Archibald Holmes, *A Bloomer Girl on Pike's Peak, 1858*, ed. Agnes Wright Spring (Denver: Denver Public Library, 1949).
22. Marion Tinling, "Hermione Day and the *Hesperian*," *California History*, 59 (Winter 1980/81).

Machines In The Garden



A Lemon Sizer (or Grader) installed as an experimental model in the Prenda Packing House of the Arlington Heights Fruit Co., 1899.

Vincent Moses

A Citrus Monopoly in Riverside 1900-1936

In 1895, according to the Bradstreet Index, Riverside, California was the richest city per capita in the United States, her wealth directly attributable to the Washington Navel Orange business. That industry covered 20,000 acres of the best irrigated land in the Riverside area in the year 1895. Promotional literature boasted that Riverside had become literally the garden of California, a veritable horticultural paradise. One trade and commerce publication argued: "The population of the city . . . is, socially, of an exceptionally high order, as evidenced by their refined and beautiful homes, their splendid educational system, and the wise and economical administration of the municipal government."[1]

Riverside, like the biblical Eden, however, was populated by human beings complete with all their natural strengths and weaknesses. The city thus held out opportunities for enterprising people of a competitive nature with a willingness to work hard (and sometimes to be ruthless). One major opportunity lay in the area of developing efficient machinery to help process the incredible expansion of citrus production in California. Mass shipment of perishable citrus commodities and the conversion of manufacturing from custom smithed tools to machine shop built equipment, therefore, converged in Riverside around 1900 with astounding results. Two men, in the process, grappled, fought, and built manufacturing empires. These mechanical wizards, Fred Stebler and George Parker, turned Riverside—the Garden—into the world center for the construction of citrus packing equipment. Many

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Vincent Moses is Curator of History with the Riverside Municipal Museum in Riverside, California. This article arose out of research he conducted in preparation for the museum's exhibit, "Oranges for Health—California for Wealth:" The Riverside (Washington) Navel Orange and the California Dream, 1880-1980. The exhibition will remain in place through 1982 with occasional minor changes.

F. STEBLER & F. F. CHASE.
FRUIT SEPARATOR.
APPLICATION FILED DEC. 21, 1915.

1,209,900.

Patented Dec. 26, 1916.
2 SHEETS—SHEET 1.

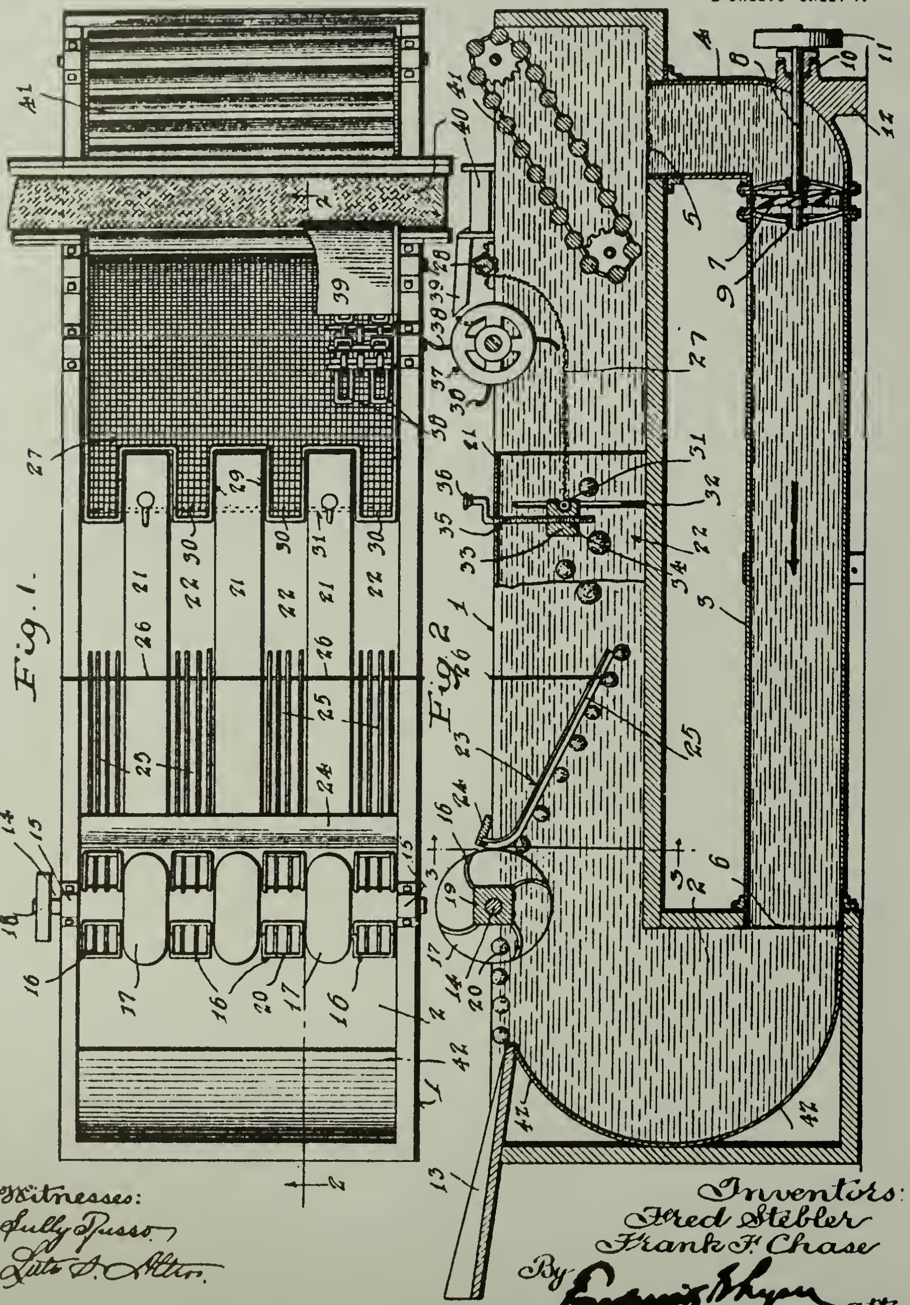
Fig. 1.
Fig. 2
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Witnesses:
Sally Russo
Lute S. Alter

Inventors:
Fred Stebler
Frank F. Chase
By Frederick S. Lyon atty.

Fred Stebler and his improved fruit separator (opposite) which was patented in 1916. It soon became a standard item in California packing houses.

critics in the citrus industry argued that Stebler and Parker by 1921 had actually formed a tight monopoly over the manufacture of citrus machinery.[2]

George Parker's mammoth crate nailing machines, after all, dominated the market the world over. Those devices flowed steadily from the precision operated Parker Machine Works, known officially by that name since 1909, with little or no serious competition until Hale Paxton entered the picture in the 1920s. By contrast, Fred Stebler's California Iron Works (C.I.W.) held preeminence in the manufacture of machinery to handle and process citrus fruit, from the grove to the refrigerated rail car.

Fred Stebler was born in Iowa December 28, 1870 of Swiss immigrant parents. Altogether, he had roughly three months of formal schooling. Most of his "learnin" came through the "school of hard knocks." Indicative of this fact were the years spent in the Dakota Territory living in a three-sided lean-to. Fred also limped all his life as the result of a broken hip received from a fall out of a hay rick. The break was not set properly but instead healed on its own. At age twenty, Stebler became an apprentice machinist and obtained eight years experience with different shops before his arrival in California.[3]

On July 5, 1899, at age twenty-eight, Fred Stebler stepped off the train into the streets of Riverside. He shortly bought a half interest in the Crawford and Fay Machine Shop and by 1902 became sole proprietor. In 1903, he took in Austin Gamble and they associated under the title of California Iron Works. This partnership lasted until 1909 when Stebler again became sole owner of C.I.W. His second sole proprietorship held until January 1, 1921.[4]

By the end of his career, Stebler had obtained around forty patents on various fruit processing apparatus. Among those devices were sizers, conveyors, washers, dryers, clamp trucks, elevators, dumpers, labelers, railroad car squeezers, separators, and fruit distributors. A great deal of Stebler's success derived from his close work with fruit packers early in this century. Their work together gradually led to a standardized packline layout. The final layout, of course, usually contained a large percentage of Stebler machinery. Along with the fruit distributor, conveyors, and other patent items, Stebler's fruit sizers dominated packlines in most citrus packing houses up to the consolidation with George Parker.

Despite a high degree of success, Stebler and his machinery were not always universally appreciated.

This attitude arose partly from what contemporaries described as Stebler's abrasive and cantankerous personality, and partly from his autocratic business practices. F.N. Dunbar, Manager of La Mesa Packing Company, Riverside, wrote to a packer in Orange County as early as 1909 concerning Stebler and C.I.W. machinery. Dunbar complained: "We long ago, learned better than to expect the machinery that he put out to be properly constructed. We also learned that unless you wanted to be insulted it was not best to go to him with any complaints or suggestions . . . . I suppose that if it were impossible for us to obtain machinery elsewhere we might call on Mr. Stebler, otherwise, never."[5]

In 1909, the year Stebler became sole proprietor of C.I.W., George Parker opened his Parker Machine Works. Initially he made only the huge nailing apparatus, but encouraged by Stebler's critics, such as F.N. Dunbar, Parker entered the field of citrus processing machinery in direct competition with C.I.W. He ultimately gained patents on sizers, separators, conveyors, washers, dumpers, and elevators and with them cut into Stebler's market. The legal fur really flew. Stebler accused Parker of intentional and willful disregard of Stebler patents and sued him at every opportunity. The litigation continued unabated for ten years. Riverside's paper hardly went a day without reporting a charge or counter charge lodged by one or the other of these warriors. As Tom Patterson, journalist and local historian stated: "The titans described each other in Corral Five language."[6]

Ruinous losses incurred through this constant patent litigation, coupled with a post war economic slump, led W.B. Clancy, President of Citizens National Bank, to persuade the two war horses to consolidate their citrus processing machinery businesses. The merger became official January 1, 1921 under the title The Stebler-Parker Company. Parker retained his nailing machine line over at the Parker Machine Works.[7] Years later Stebler commented on the merger:

> This was not as satisfactory as I would have liked . . . However, this arrangement was desirable because it eliminated the terrible expense we had both been through because of the continued litigation arising out of patent controversies, almost all of which were brought about by his insisting on appropriating my exclusive rights to inventions most of which were my own inventions.

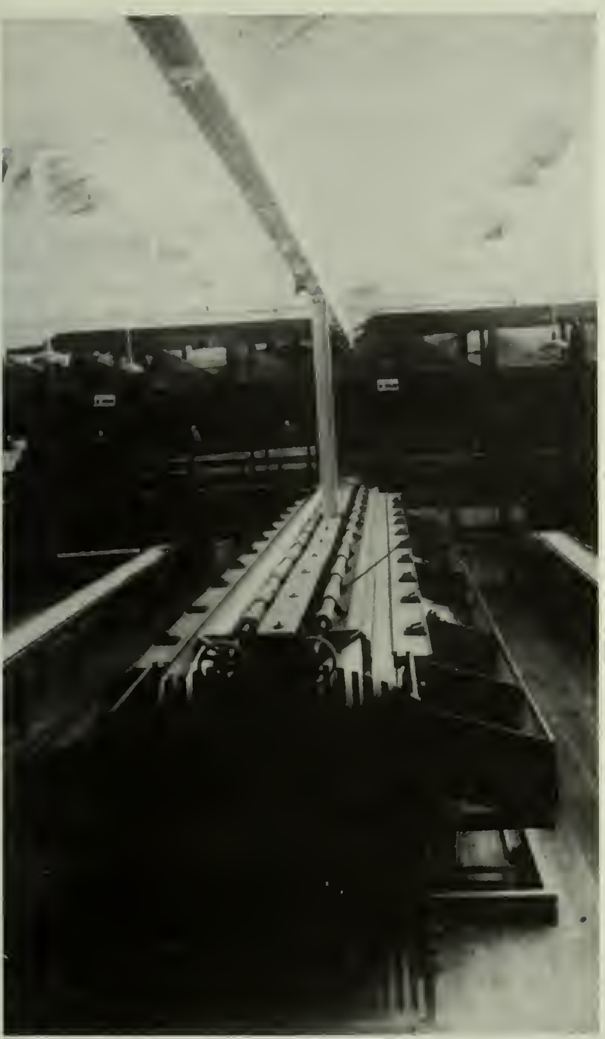
He went on to argue that: "While I was successful in all cases of litigation against him, this did not stop him, so it was a case of vital importance that I resort to other means, which was this combination."[8]

Even the critics, however, had to admit that Stebler's C.I.W. had been preeminent in the design and manufacture of citrus processing equipment. Moreover, most of the patents on C.I.W. machinery had been sustained in court. The merger, therefore, occurred for reasons of economic survival. Hereinafter presented are descriptions of the three more hotly disputed patented machines from the C.I.W. repertoire, 1900 to 1921.

C.I.W. MECHANICAL FRUIT SIZER

Grades and sizes of fruit are still important in the marketing of citrus commodities. The machinery used to size fruit is axiomatic in all modern packing houses, but this was not the case around 1900. Fred Stebler's entry into the problem of efficient citrus sizing resulted in the design and patenting of an improved labor saving fruit sizer. James R. Rogers, Solicitor of Patents and Infringement Lawyer from Los Angeles, sent Stebler his Letters Patent #709,613, dated September 23, 1902 on September 29, of that same year. The Patent Office had granted Stebler all nine claims for his fruit grader (sizer).[9]

"This invention relates to apparatus for sizing or grading fruit," the Letters Patent acknowledged.



Rope and Roll Orange Sizer (c.1925). Manufactured and sold by the consolidated Stebler-Parker Co., Riverside, California.

"An object of the invention is to provide or impart a rotary motion to the fruit, so that the same will be sized or graded closer by reason of the difference in dimensions of the fruit in different parts." It was also "an object of this invention to provide a longitudinally-stationary but laterally-yielding surface to the fruit . . ."[10]

This machine sized or graded fruit by having it placed upon a feed table (see photo on page 26), from where it was fed into the apparatus and picked up by the "endless" conveyors and pushed into contact with stationary tubes. While spinning, the citrus fruit reached a point where it was no longer supported by the tube and conveyor. At that juncture, the fruit dropped onto an inclined canvas and was discharged laterally from the sizer into a waiting bin.[11]

Today, the state of the art in fruit sizing is possible because of Stebler's early efforts. FMC Corporation's latest apparatus, the Tri-Roll Sizer, is an indirect descendant of Stebler's 1902 Rope and Roll model.

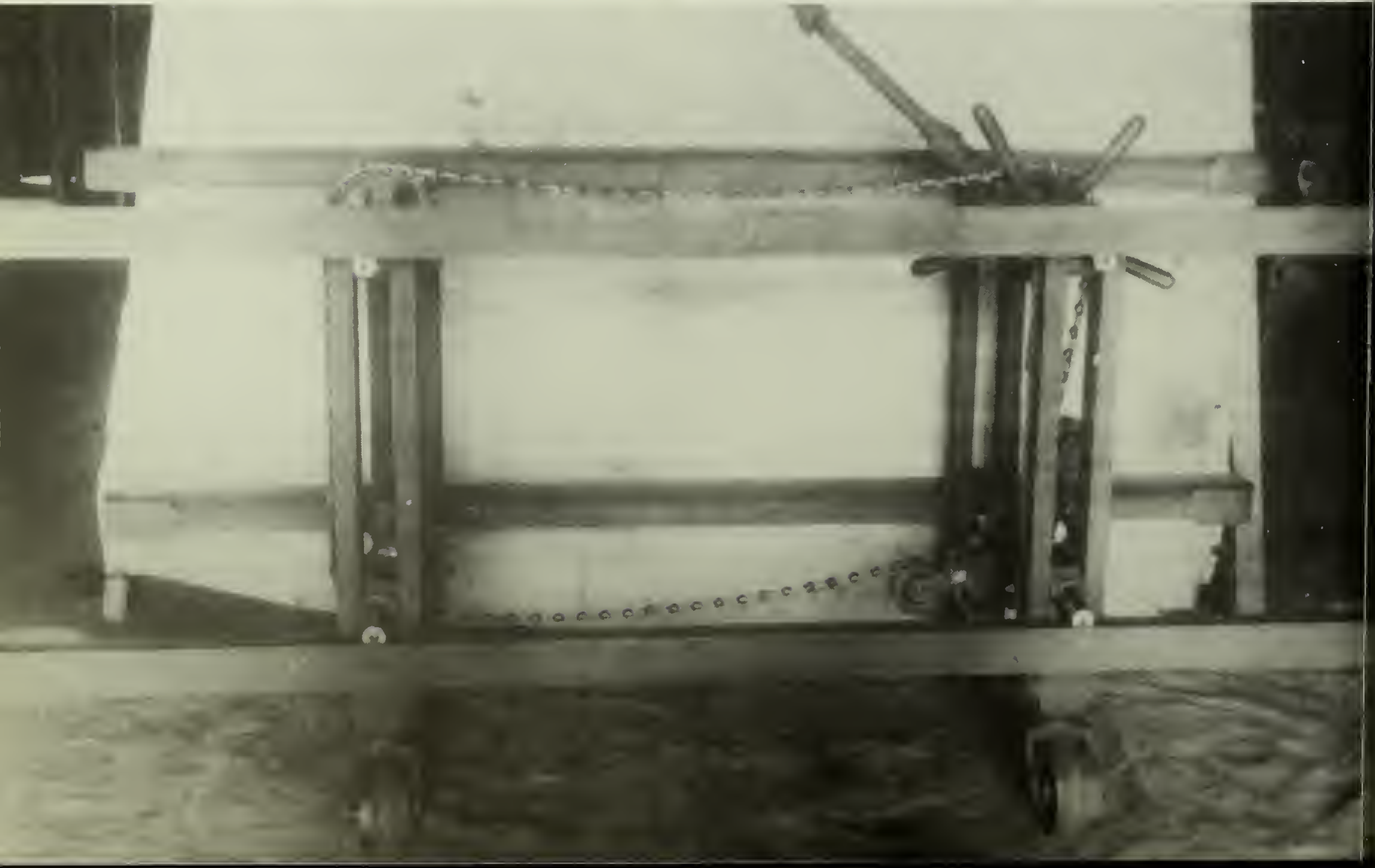
C.I.W. FRUIT DISTRIBUTOR

Stebler invented other sizing devices including the drop-roll fruit and olive sizer (1942), but according to his own words, found inked along the margin of his Letters Patent (received December 21, 1909) the Distributing Apparatus "was of grater [sic] importance to me and made more money than any other and was sustained in court."[12] Further evidence in Stebler's handwriting in the margins of this Letters Patent establishes that his court reference was in regard to a major lawsuit against George Parker for patent infringement. Stebler apparently won this case outright and the device made him a lot of money.

According to Stebler's Letters Patent: "This invention relates to means for carrying or distributing fruit, and is particularly designed for use in connection with a fruit sizer or grader, and has for its general object the provision of simple and efficient means whereby the several grades or sizes of fruits, such . . . as oranges, may be conducted to wide bins suitably spaced along the floor of a packing house so as to provide sufficient room at the sides of the bins for the fruit packers to work."[13] The apparatus was also designed to work well in tandem with a short or small grader or sizer, "and still deliver the separated or sized fruit in bins of such width as to provide easy access . . . for packers." Moreover, if oranges were running heavily to one or two sizes, the conveyor was capable of depositing a single size fruit into several adjacent bins for efficient handling. The machine came with adjustable partitions for the bins to suit the packers' immediate requirements for bin

Smudge Pot (Orchard Heater) Maker. Manufactured for Riverside Sheet Metal Works by Stebler-Parker Co. to help them meet the increased demand for orchard heaters that developed in the wake of the 1913 freeze.

Rail Car Squeezer (Squeeze) c.1925. This device was developed by Stebler's California Iron Works as a way to facilitate the loading of full orange crates into the standard refrigerated rail car. Crates were loaded and stacked into either end of the car by hand until just enough room remained to accommodate the squeeze. At that point this device was wheeled on board and the steel bumpers were jacked outward to provide a few inches of extra space for the remaining crates.



room to secure the various sizes of fruit.

Stebler's Distributor was constructed to sit on a slight incline so that gravity would move the fruit down the conveyor line. Tender fruit skins were protected in this way against abrasions that would have resulted from mechanical or forced conveyance down the line.[14] Stebler's Distributor can be seen in almost every historic packinghouse photograph taken after 1909. It became an overnight success in spite of the disdain many packers held for Stebler himself.

C.I.W. FRUIT SEPARATORS

The worst winter in the history of California citrus growing hit in 1913. That great three-night freeze happened in January and the thermometer at the old Citrus Experiment Station registered lows of 15°F. The lowest temperatures navels can handle, without incurring severe damage, are around 27-28°F. Although most of the navel crop was ruined in 1913, some of the crop would have been salvageable. But how? No effective method had yet been devised![15]

At this point, Frank F. Chase, one of the founders of National Orange Company, experimented with water separation based upon the specific gravity of citrus fruit. The idea was that undamaged fruit would sink and frosted fruit would tend to float. Chase apparently placed the initial concept into the public domain. In 1915, however, Chase assigned his rights to an improvement in the basic design to Fred Stebler. The improved fruit separator was patented December 26, 1916 as #1,209,900. It soon became a standard item in California packing houses.

The object of this invention, aside from making C.I.W. more money, was to "overcome inaccuracies in the separation of fruit bodies of different sizes, shapes, and specific gravities . . . regardless of their size and shape . . ." A further object was to provide a way of submerging all the "fruit bodies singly and in predetermined spaced relations to one another to a common point in the circulating liquid and release all the fruit bodies from submergence at said common point in advance of the separating member . . ." Common point submergence was induced so that the fruit would rise accurately according to its specific gravity at predetermined angles so as to pass over or under the separating member. In this manner, frost damaged citrus would be effectively separated from good fruit.[16] This patent principle eventually became the standard for frost damaged fruit separators and later was manufactured by Food Machinery Corporation as well as by C.I.W. and the Stebler-Parker Company before F.M.C.

Although John Brown and James Boyd, *History of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties,* stated in 1922 that the merger of Stebler and Parker was deemed beneficial to the industry, citrus packers came to view the event in a different light. Many of them felt the Stebler-Parker Company, in tandem with Parker Machine Works, constituted a real monopoly on the manufacture of citrus machinery. As Dana Keech, former patent attorney for Hale Paxton and later Food Machinery Corporation, related in an interview: "The California Citrus League, made up of the California Fruit Growers Exchange (Sunkist), Mutual Orange Distributors (Pure Gold), and American Fruit Growers (Blue Goose), considered the Stebler-Parker Company a monopoly based on their control of patents." As Keech went on to say, "The Citrus League considered this a heavy burden on packers. The League wanted a free market in citrus machinery so packers could not be compelled to purchase non-patented accessories just in order to obtain one item of patented equipment."[17]

Keech had gone to work for the California Citrus League in 1926 as Packing House Equipment Development Manager. His job as a patent lawyer was to investigate the Stebler-Parker patents and to stimulate competition in the citrus machinery market. He was authorized to do this in order to break what the Citrus League viewed as the "stranglehold Stebler-Parker had on the industry." One of the methods at his disposal involved the filing of patent applications by competitors of machinery made by Stebler-Parker Company and Parker Machine Works. Keech would review and file appropriate competing patent applications for a fifteen percent royalty payment to the Citrus League. In order to accomplish his goal, Keech compiled a list of all manufacturers of food machinery in the United States. By 1928 he had made contact with John Bean Manufacturing Company, Sprague-Sells Corporation, and Anderson-Barngrover Manufacturing Company, and had invited them to Southern California to inspect the citrus industry. The intent was to get them interested in entering citrus machinery manufacturing in competition with Stebler-Parker.[18]

Unfortunately, according to Keech, his idea backfired (here the record gets hazy). The three big companies accepted his invitation, but somewhere along the line decided among themselves that a merger into one large corporation made more sense than expanding their competitive lines against one another. Sometime in early 1929, the major packers of California were invited to the Elite Restaurant in Los Angeles for dinner and a discussion of the Riverside monopoly and how a new Food Machinery Corporation could help packers. At that dinner meeting, Ogden Sells, Sprague-Sells Manufacturing Company, made an impressive case for the new corporation and how it would help modernize equipment lines to suit the packing house needs of the future. As Keech pointed out, all Sells wanted was to get the go ahead for this proposed corporation to purchase the "monopoly" in Riverside! "They went for it lock, stock, and barrel," Keech said, "and wound up with a bigger monopoly yet."[19]

The corporate merger was consummated in late spring of 1929 after Stebler convinced Parker of the wisdom in selling to the new conglomerate. Parker was happy to sell. His Machine Works business was taking more and more of his time anyway due to a new patent war over nailing machines. Hale Paxton, Dana Keech's future client, had invaded Parker's territory with abandon. The legal sparks flew once again, but no longer in the realm of citrus processing equipment. The new Food Machinery Corporation saw to that. Fred Stebler was named manager.

The July 1929 issue of *The California Citrograph* carried a full page ad announcing the formation of Food Machinery Corporation through the consolidation of the Stebler-Parker Company with John Bean Manufacturing Company, Anderson-Barngrover Manufacturing Company, and the Sprague-Sells Corporation. Then in the October issue of the *Citrograph,* an ad appeared geared to reassuring citrus packers that Food Machinery Corporation would live up to Ogden Sells' promise. The ad read in part: "Our plans call for a definite program of progress and cooperation. Progress in the development of fruit handling equipment to keep pace with the ever-growing demand for speed, efficiency, and quality output."[20]

By late October 1929, Stebler and the other "Food" leaders had managed to purchase the Pioneer Brush Company and Roberts and Huntington Company to consolidate with Stebler-Parker Company under the title, Citrus Machinery Company, a Division of Food Machinery Corporation. Those firms comprised the only real competitors to Stebler-Parker Company and were now a part of the conglomerate. Further, under Fred Stebler's management, the existing patents were improved and so was Food Machinery Corporation's hold on the citrus machinery market. In 1936, after George Parker's death (1931), FMC purchased the Parker Machine Works and patent rights in an estate liquidation sale. A short time later in 1936 they negotiated the purchase of the Paxton Nailing Machine Company. Food Machinery Corporation, Citrus Machinery Division, under Fred Stebler thereby gained almost airtight control over every major aspect of citrus machinery production.

Fred Stebler retired as manager of Food Machinery Corporation, Citrus Machinery Division, in 1937, though he maintained close contact with the organization for years afterward. From time to time, the company bought inventions from him. One in particular, the drop-roll olive sizer (1941-42), became quite successful. The patent application and purchase agreement were handled by none other than Dana Keech who was then patent attorney for FMC. By contrast, Stebler's nemesis, George Parker, died in 1931 at age fifty-two while embroiled in yet another patent suit, and Hale Paxton suffered a fatal heart attack in 1937. At the time he was Manager of the Nailing Machine Division of Food Machinery Corporation and only thirty-eight years old. Stebler himself died in 1957 after profiting mightily on capital increases in his FMC stock—he was eighty-six years old.

All of the photographs are courtesy of the Riverside Municipal Museum.

Notes

1. Trade and Commerce Pamphlet, Riverside Municipal Museum Archive (c.1895).
2. Tom Patterson, "Three 2-Fisted Inventors," five articles in the *Press-Enterprise* (March 1-6, 1959):1.
3. *Ibid.*
4. John Brown and James Boyd, *History of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1922), II, p.902.
5. F.N. Dunbar to W.H. Schureman, January 11, 1909, from the Letter File of the La Mesa Packing Co., letter #646. In the Riverside Municipal Museum Collection.
6. Patterson, "Three 2-Fisted Inventors," #2.
7. Interview with Roy Haglund, retired vice president with the Citizens National Bank, Riverside, California, March 1980. Mr. Haglund also serves as the president of the Riverside Historical Society.
8. Quoted in Patterson, "Three 2-Fisted Inventors," #4 (March 5, 1959).
9. James R. Rogers to Fred Stebler, September 29, 1902. In the Riverside Municipal Museum Archive.
10. Letters Patent #709,613, United States Patent Office, September 23, 1902. Issued to Fred Stebler.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Letters Patent #943,799, United States Patent Office, December 2, 1909. Issued to Fred Stebler.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. Tom Patterson, "Out of Our County's Past," *Press-Enterprise* (June 21, 1981): B-2.
16. Letters Patent #1,209,900, United States Patent Office, December 26, 1916, Lines 60-81. Issued to Fred Stebler.
17. Interview with Dana Keech, June 9, 1981, Riverside Municipal Museum Conference Room. Interview conducted by the author.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *The California Citrograph* (October 1929):534.

James R. Curtis

"New Chicago of the Far West"

Land Speculation in Alviso, California, 1890-1891

Even a passing examination of the motives, operative process, and resulting patterns of settlement along the American frontier in the nineteenth century, must include mention of the important role played by the seemingly omnipresent land speculator-promoter. Paul Wallace Gates, an acknowledged authority on land speculation, has concluded that ". . . so dynamic a part did he [the speculator] play in shaping land and cultural patterns, that it is difficult to imagine an American frontier without him."[1]

Our stereotyped image of the land speculator, as portrayed best in western mythology and folklore, casts him as the perennial villain, a mustachioed, cunning, dastardly perpetrator of evil and no good. Yet, in reality, the lure of a lodestone to quick profits prompted a host of folk, from the most virtuous pioneer to the most unscrupulous company, to speculate in land. Whether company sponsored or individual initiative, however, land speculation remained speculation, a gamble, which in more cases than not ended in financial failure for the speculator. Bogue and Bogue comment that ". . . one can hardly study the body of literature bearing on speculator profits without concluding that speculation in western lands was usually a losing business."[2] Nevertheless, like all gaming activities, the tales of "bonanza" imbued the minds and souls of many, urging them to speculate despite the unfavorable odds. And, once committed to the task, the limits of their endeavors to attain success knew no bounds. Promotional advertising with fanfare, embellishment of facts, outright bribery, and chicanery were all orders of the day.

Yet, it is the conveyance of this very flamboyant spirit, which bordered often on melodrama, that breathes life into the subject of land speculation and helps one gain a clearer perspective on why this process was so fundamental in the settlement of the West. The countless failures notwithstanding, the lasting import of land speculation on existing patterns of land ownership, town layout, location of transportation lines, and establishment of county

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A group portrait of employees of the San Jose Watch Factory, built as part of the New Chicago plan. It remained in business only one day.

seats, to name only a few, cannot be underestimated.

One of the most outlandish land speculating and promoting schemes perhaps ever perpetrated on the West Coast took place between 1890 and 1891 in Alviso, California. A small port town, Alviso is located at the extreme southern tip of San Francisco Bay where the meandering Guadalupe River debouches into the bay after draining much of the northern Santa Clara Valley. The scale of this scheme may be illustrated simply by its name—New Chicago—indeed, a "New Chicago of the Far West." Although it ultimately failed, street patterns and names still exist on the cultural landscape as reminders and remainders of the events which took place there during the early 1890s. The failure of this scheme in no way diminishes its historical importance as a case study illustrative of the pervasive spirit of land speculation and promotion in late nineteenth century California.

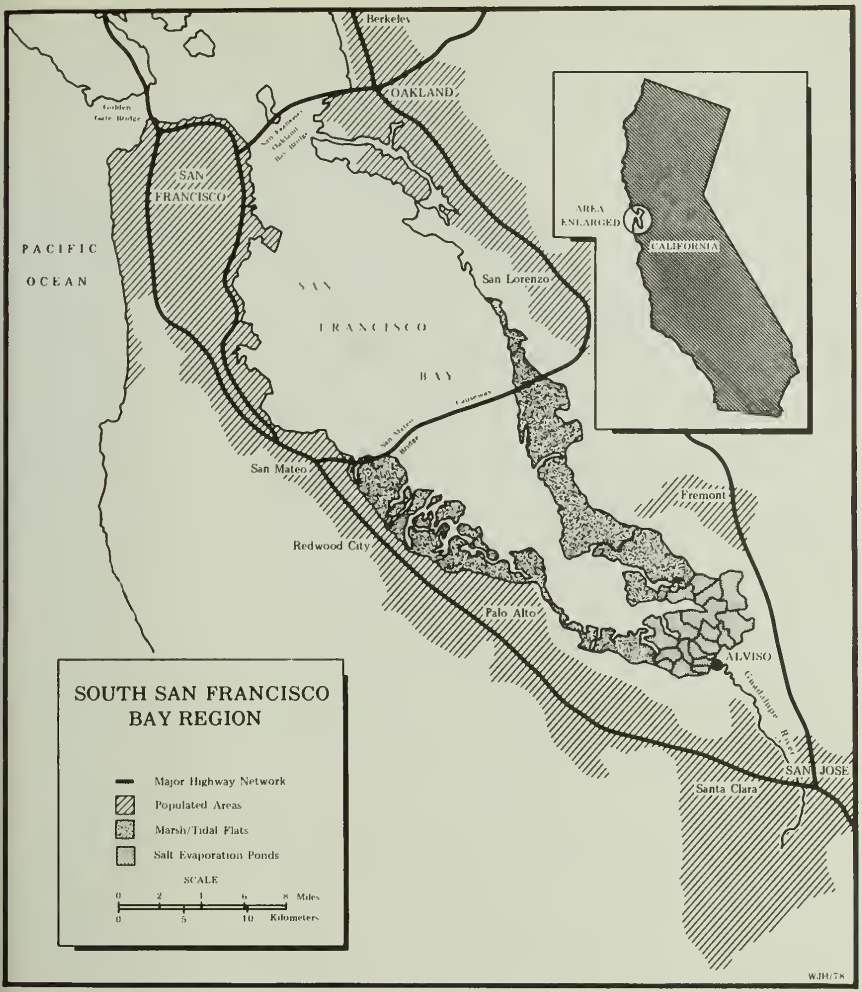
The plan for a New Chicago at the port of Alviso was the brainchild of an extraordinarily clever and imaginative promoter named P. H. Wheeler. The fall of 1889 found Wheeler searching for a suitable site in California to relocate a defunct watch factory in southern San Diego County that he was in the process of buying. Lacking sufficient capital to purchase land in an established industrial area, he needed a location where land values were low, but which offered potential for growth. His search led to Alviso.

Beginning with the earliest days of Spanish settlement in northern California in the late eighteenth century, Alviso had served as a port of regional significance. Its functions as the major transshipment point and entrepot in the south bay region were pivotal in the early establishment and persistence of adjacent nodes of settlement. Through the port funneled waterborne supplies, exports of hides and tallow, lumber, quicksilver, and agricultural products, which helped sustain the missions at San Jose and Santa Clara and the pueblo of San Jose, and the pioneers to populate them. The town of Alviso was founded in 1849 and incorporated in 1852. The comments of E. Gould Buffum, who voyaged into Alviso in 1849, are illustrative of the optimistic enthusiasm felt by many toward its founding:

> The want of a great commercial town at the head of the great bay of San Francisco has been supplied by the location of Alviso . . . the town of Alviso must inevitably grow into importance.[3]

Initially Alviso did prosper, although its flat, poorly-drained flood plain site limited settlement as flood waters and high tides periodically inundated the frontier town. As early as 1864, however, its important transportation function was seriously crippled when the San Francisco-San Jose Railroad was completed, bypassing Alviso. The town subsequently foundered and began slipping into obscurity and disrepair. Within two decades, however, the growth of agriculture in the greater region temporarily increased the volume of shipping at Alviso, and led to the construction in 1878 of a narrow-gauge line of the South Pacific Coast Railroad, linking Alviso to the main line in San Jose. These changes brought little in the way of sustained economic revival for the town. Yet, as historian Munro-Fraser noted in 1881: "There are some residents who are still sanguine, and predict a great future for the little town."[4]

Thus, upon Wheeler's arrival in Alviso in early 1890, the population of Alviso numbered only about 900 inhabitants, but appeared to him to be doing a relatively brisk business in shipping and storage. He was impressed with Alviso's location on a navigable waterway and its apparent potential for development. Conversations with local residents convinced


Berkeley
OAKLAND
Golden Gate Bridge
San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge
SAN FRANCISCO
PACIFIC OCEAN
SAN FRANCISCO BAY
San Lorenzo
AREA ENLARGED
CALIFORNIA
Causeway
San Mateo Bridge
San Mateo
Fremont
Redwood City
Palo Alto
ALVISO
Guadalupe River
SAN JOSE
Santa Clara
SOUTH SAN FRANCISCO BAY REGION
Major Highway Network
Populated Areas
Marsh/Tidal Flats
Salt Evaporation Ponds
SCALE
0 2 4 6 8 Miles
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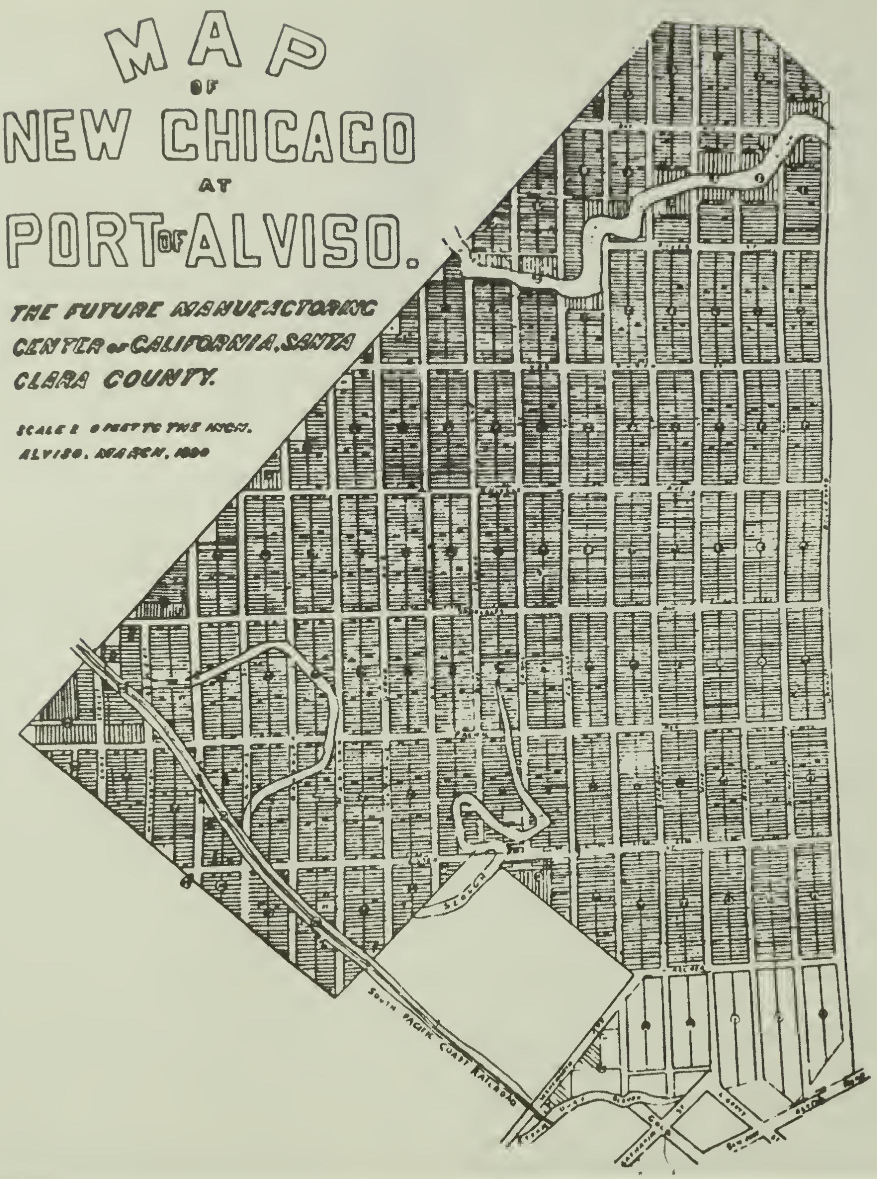
Located in the south San Francisco Bay region, Alviso's poorly-drained flood plain site helped to limit its settlement.

him that an undercurrent of interest in Alviso did in fact exist, and that many people shared the belief that it was somehow destined to be a great port and settlement. It was, in short, a land ripe for speculation and promotion. Thus, the scheme for New Chicago was conceived.

In spite of his modest financial resources, being the able promoter that he was, Wheeler had soon marshalled a wealthy and influential group of supporters. These men held positions necessary to seriously undertake the kind of scheme Wheeler had in mind. Foremost on the list of supporters were real estate brokers A. C. Darby, J. C. Roberts, and Paul Austin; John W. Rea, who was railroad commissioner of the state; John Richards, a local attorney; and George A. Penniman, a wealthy fruit grower in the valley.[5]

On paper, New Chicago was to be grand. Its prototype, of course, was Chicago. Chicago was not an unlikely analogue, since it too is situated at the end of a great body of water with a vast agricultural hinterland at its door, and the pace of its rise from local to regional to national stature was phenomenal. Yet, in the late nineteenth century the image of Chicago was one of sylvan elegance and it was nicknamed, "The Garden City."[6] Typical of the ostentatious language characterizing promotion of this scheme, it was proclaimed:

> This is a good name for this great coming city. 'A rose by another name would smell as sweet.' And yet there is a lingering fate that hangs over a name that makes progress easy. The right men, the right spirit, the right fate, build cities in frog ponds; and here are the right men in the right place, with a great open sea at their door."[7]


MAP
OF
NEW CHICAGO
AT
PORT OF ALVISO.
THE FUTURE MANUFACTORING CENTER OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CLARA COUNTY.
SCALE [illegible] FEET TO THE INCH.
ALVISO. MARCH, 1890
SOUTH PACIFIC COAST RAILROAD

New Chicago was to be patterned after its namesake in as many ways as possible, only on a reduced scale. The first phase in fostering this likeness called for the town to be platted like Chicago. The plat, surveyed by Henry Dittrich in early 1890, totaled 104 blocks.[8] Each block was fifty feet wide and subdivided into sixty small lots of twenty-five feet by 150 feet. Streets and avenues, of course, were named after those of Chicago—Michigan, Wabash, Dearborn, State, La Salle and so on.

To increase interest in New Chicago, Wheeler and supporters devised an elaborate plan and persuasive argument for the proposed development of the town. The industrial component, for example, was to be most impressive. Slated for construction were industries ranging from heavy iron and steel works to light textile factories. It was announced, for example, that the town could "expect to have Spreckels' next

The plan for New Chicago called for 104 blocks — each block being divided into sixty lots.

sugar refinery."[9] A sugar beet mill, it was estimated, would save the fruit growers of the valley "half a million dollars the first year of its existence."[10] Waxing poetic, it was prophesied:

> The cathedral bell of the city clock will chime the hour when the great armies of workmen shall file in twos and threes into the great factories, yet unbuilt.[11]

Although the city, "yet unbuilt," was to be industrially diversified, the proposed development centered on port-related functions. The strength of such facilities, it was reasoned, lay not only in the increasing volume of Santa Clara Valley trade, but also in the claimed shortcomings of the Port of San Francisco. San Francisco, it was said, was too expensive "for the storage of coal and other bulky products that require great space," and its "water frontage is inadequate to the needs of . . . rapidly increasing commerce."[12] Attempting to strike home with the agriculturalists of the region, it was further claimed that produce hauled to San Francisco by freight car cost an average of twenty-eight dollars per ton and was not customarily unloaded until late morning, while produce brought by boat cost an average of only seven dollars per ton and "is hauled away to markets before the sun is up."[13] Thus, "a million dollars was lost to this community in vegetable traffic alone."[14]

Part of the development plan of the port called for the construction of a broad-gauge railroad from San Jose to Alviso to replace the narrow-gauge line already in operation. It was declared that since wharf rates at San Francisco amounted to three dollars and fifty cents for every ton of coal handled, "coal and other bulky articles could be delivered in San Francisco from Alviso by rail cheaper than at their own wharves."[15]

The key to any proposed development at New Chicago focused on a plan to straighten and dredge Alviso Slough to a minimum of twelve feet deep and 150 feet wide. The project, of course, would be expensive, an estimated $100,000. Not only was the proposed dredging expensive, but there was also the question of financing. At this point enter General Albert Boschke and the River, Harbor, Canal Dredging and Land Company, with which he was associated. In magnanimous fashion, this probably bogus company presented a program to raise the necessary money by offering shares in the company. The company offered 20,000 shares of unassessable stock to the San Jose Board of Trade, to be sold to the public at five dollars per share, which was fifty percent of its reported par value. The purchase was to be paid in ten monthly installments of fifty cents per share. Once the $100,000 was raised, the company would agree to a written guarantee to perform the work and would cover any additional costs.

To many residents of the valley who had long envisioned a port of Alviso as being their economic panacea, this plan was energetically hailed as a dream come true. There were others, however, who remained skeptical of such a plan and demanded more specifics. To eliminate such skepticism and to hasten the sale of their stock, the company began a vigorous campaign to show the feasibility of the dredging plan. Chief spokesman in this effort was the company's resident authority on dredging and supervisor of the proposed project, General Albert Boschke. General Boschke, it was pointed out, had spent forty years service in engineering work for the government, of which twenty-five were devoted to dredging and building dredging machinery. The arrival of Boschke was pointed to by those supportive of the plan as a great omen. As if by divine providence, it was proclaimed in one publication:

> Now, God, in His all-wise wisdom, saw fit to raise up one man, Boschke, a civil engineer of great renown, who has superintended dredging lo, these many years. And He put the thought in this man Boschke's head that he dredge the slough of Alviso.[16]

In one of the first of many public announcements, General Boschke authoritatively stated:

> The proposed canal . . . will be one of the most important enterprises ever projected on this coast, and will I have no doubt, be promptly and expeditiously pushed to a speedy completion. Of course, he added, this will depend, in large measure, upon the public spirit and enterprise of the good people of San Jose, who are to raise the money.[17]

Boschke could foresee only two possible problems. One was disposing of the dredged material and the other was the possible breakdown of dredging machinery, thus delaying the project and incurring expensive repairs. It was decided that the dredged material should be used to reclaim the marsh. As for the second problem, Boschke hastened to add, that he had designed a new dredge just for this project that "will dig 22,000 cubic yards in a day of 22 hours and never break down."[18] It was next reported that General Abbott, Chief Engineer of the United States, along with high ranking members of his staff, "after examination of the drawings and model of the Boschke dredge pronounced it the greatest mechanical device in the world, and of great national importance."[19] The catch, of course, was: "In order to build this dredge, it is necessary for the people to buy stock in this company."[20]

The initial promotion of lots in New Chicago and shares in the dredging company was characterized by a wide ranging blitz of advertising with fanfare. Newspaper advertisements led the way. Half-page advertisements ran almost daily in the *San Jose Daily Mercury* for about a three month period during the spring of 1890. On March 30, 1890, the first day that

John W. Rea (right), state railroad commissioner and prominent backer of the New Chicago scheme, posing with one James McKenzie and an unidentified woman.

lots in New Chicago were offered to the public, for example, New Chicago was hailed in bold print as "The Coming Manufacturing Center of California."[21] On April 1, readers were advised of a "rare chance to get in early and secure a piece of land which within months will advance greatly in value."[22]

Mass public meetings were also held. During most of these events, either General Boschke or W. H. H. Hart, president of the dredging company, was called upon to clarify some technical or financial point of contention. But generally, these meetings served only as an additional forum to promote the scheme. It was announced at one such meeting, for example, that "eleven vessels have already agreed to come to Alviso Harbor," and that "a company is now forming to build a steam tug at Alviso and $1,200 has already been raised for the purpose."[23] At one meeting, however, R. O. Shively, chairman of the San Jose Board of Trade Committee, was asked to investigate the officers of the dredging company and their proposed financing plan. But, "He . . . found the officers of the company good businessmen and men of character, and their offer had been a fair and liberal one."[24] Shively could not, however, find the company's articles of incorporation listed in California. But a spokesman for the company quickly replied that they were "incorporated under the laws of Colorado for the reason that it gave greater protection to shareholders than did the laws of any other state."[25]

Public contests were also held to foster interest in the proposed town. In one case, a free lot in New Chicago was offered to the first person who could determine the number of square feet in a twenty-five by 150 foot lot. The firms of Roberts, Austin and Darby in San Jose and Middleton and Sharon in San Francisco were retained to handle the expected bonanza of the sale of lots. They were not disappointed. The results of the frantic advertising combined with the relatively low selling prices, which ranged from $5 to $200 per lot, depending upon location, proved to be spectacular. On the first day that lots were offered to the public, 305 lots were sold, establishing a new single-day record for San Jose.[26] By the end of the first week 803 lots had been sold.[27] By the eleventh day, April 9, over 1,000 lots had been sold.[28] Four days later the San Jose real estate firm decided to remain open at night to handle the demand. By the end of April 1890, 2,311 lots had been sold.[29]

The intensity of the advertising campaign and the phenomenal rate at which lots were being sold tended to create its own momentum. Thus, even supposedly objective news coverage about New Chicago served only to spark increased interest. On April 13, for example, it was reported:

> The agents are constantly receiving letters of inquiry, and orders from all parts of the country and the prospects are that the lots in New Chicago will all be sold soon.[30]

The community was being swept up in a tide of excitement and the promoters were not about to let it wane. Thus, advertising continued unabated. It was announced, for example, that Mr. Austin, a partner in the San Jose real estate firm, "is [to be] nominated for mayor of that town when it incorporates."[31] A picture of how New Chicago might look in the future was painted and placed in the real estate office in San Jose. The picture, it was reported:

> . . . is well worth looking at if one has money in his pocket to pay for lots, but if the money is not there the sight of the picture creates an aching void which urges one forward to accumulate at least the price of a cheap lot.[32]

Shares in the dredging company were also being sold at a rapid rate. During late spring of 1890 it was announced:

> A movement is now on foot, in which Congressman Clurrie is taking an active part in Washington, to secure a government appropriation to extend the harbor improvements two and a half miles further inland . . . to a point but three and a half miles to the courthouse in San Jose.[33]

By the end of the summer of 1890, more than 3,500 lots and over 17,000 shares in the dredging company had been sold. But, in spite of the auspicious real estate sales, and the construction of a few houses, there was little beyond promises to suggest that the proposed developments would be forthcoming. The community thereafter assumed a more conservative, wait-and-see posture, while the sales of lots came to an abrupt halt. In an attempt to revive public interest and to appease rapidly growing skepticism, in October of 1890, over two miles of streets were graded, graveled and curbed.[34] Preliminary soundings also were taken along the slough by Wheeler and supporters. Some months later, in February of 1891, a bridge was built over Steamboat Slough. The community, however, remained largely unimpressed by these minor improvements, and the hopes of a New Chicago began to fade into oblivion almost as fast as they had emerged.

Throughout the months that New Chicago had been in the forefront of public attention, Wheeler, who initiated the scheme, maintained a relatively low profile in the public's eye, preferring to play a role largely behind the scenes. During the ensuing months of 1891, and as the New Chicago scenario was reaching its scandalous conclusion, Wheeler began to assume an increasingly prominent position. In a last ditch effort to renew interest in the scheme, and to satisfy his original goal, Wheeler completed plans to bring his defunct watch factory to Alviso. After resolution of a complicated series of legal problems surrounding the factory, it was in fact dismantled, brought to Alviso and rebuilt. In early September of 1891, the impressive factory, known as the San Jose Watch Factory, was completed. In spite of the building, and hiring of renowned watchmakers from throughout the country, especially Elgin, Illinois, the factory remained in operation but one day. It appears that the cost of construction and other expenditures on the ill-fated factory consumed the total of the company's financial resources, which totaled about $350,000, of which the bulk came from Wheeler's profits derived from the sale of lots in New Chicago.

Thus, in the end, even the profits which had been gained through shrewd promotion, sifted like sand through the open hands of the over-ambitious promoters. The dreams of a New Chicago in the Santa Clara Valley became but a bittersweet memory. General Boschke and associates of the probably fictitious dredging company vanished, never to be seen or heard from again. Law suits were duly filed against Wheeler, but he declared bankruptcy and left the community.

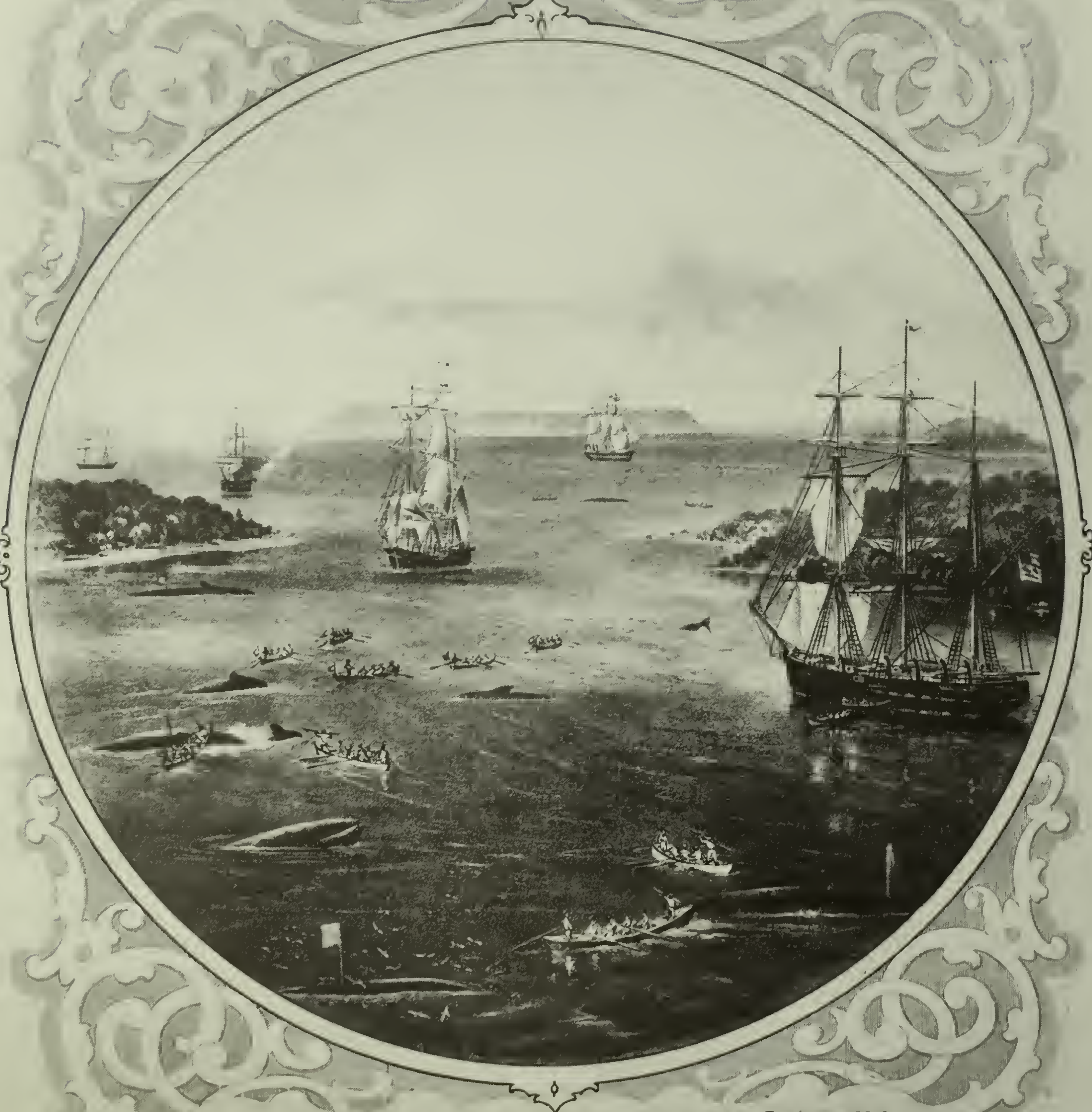
It is impossible to determine whether the plan for New Chicago ever had any basis in fact, or was a complete hoax, since the $100,000 requested by the dredging company was never attained and not all of the 6,240 lots were sold. In all likelihood, however, Wheeler probably hoped for nothing more than to raise enough money from the sale of lots to finance his watch factory and, at best, that would serve as a catalyst to attract other businesses. As far as the plan to dredge the slough and the other proposed developments, they were probably just ploys to hasten the sale of lots.

A traveler to Alviso in the middle 1890s would probably stare with curiosity at the landscape remnants of New Chicago. Spanning Steamboat Slough was a new wooden bridge, scarcely used, and leading to apparently nothing but an open field. Once across the bridge, and upon closer inspection, he would discover the faint trace of lines subdividing the expanse of open land into vacant lots. The streets which cut paths through the area in grid pattern were graded and graveled, but potholed and fast becoming overrun with weeds. Pausing at the widest street, he might glance up to find a bent and tattered sign which cryptically identified the street as "Grand Blvd." Laughing out loud he would probably think it was all a joke, an illusion. But if rhetoric was reality, he would have seen a bustling, prosperous city.

The photographs are courtesy of the San Jose Historical Museum.

Notes

1. Paul Wallace Gates, *Landlords and Tenants on the Prairie Frontier* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1973), p. 70.
2. Allan G. Bogue and Margaret Beattie Bogue, " 'Profit' and the Frontier Land Speculator," in Vernon Carstensen, ed., *The Public Lands: Studies in the History of the Public Domain* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 373.
3. E. Gould Buffum, *Six Months in the Gold Fields* (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1959), p. 131.
4. J. P. Munro-Fraser, *History of Santa Clara County, California* (San Francisco: Alley Bowen & Company, 1881), p. 251.
5. Benny A. Phillips, "1890 Alviso Boom, 1948 Grand Finale," *San Jose News,* October 10, 1948, p. 22.
6. Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974), p. 202.
7. "New Chicago at Port Alviso: Some Printed Facts Selected From the Writings of Those Who Know," issued by the real estate firms of Roberts, Austin and Darby of San Jose, and Sharon and Middleton of San Francisco, 1890, p. 6. A pamphlet in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
8. Phillips, "Alviso Boom."
9. "New Chicago at Port Alviso," p. 8.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, p. 6
12. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *San Jose Daily Mercury*, March 30, 1890, p. 3.
22. *San Jose Daily Mercury*, April 1, 1890, p. 3.
23. "New Chicago at Port Alviso," p. 10
24. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
26. *San Jose Daily Mercury*, April 1, 1890, p. 3.
27. *San Jose Daily Mercury*, April 6, 1890, p. 5.
28. *San Jose Daily Mercury*, April 9, 1890, p. 3.
29. *San Jose Daily Mercury*, April 29, 1890, p. 2.
30. *San Jose Daily Mercury*, April 13, 1890, p. 5.
31. "New Chicago at Port Alviso," p. 15.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
34. *San Jose Daily Mercury*, October 30, 1890, p. 3.



WHALING SCENE IN THE CALIFORNIA LAGOONS.

Lyndall B. Landauer

CHARLES M. SCAMMON

FROM SEAMAN TO CIVILIZED WHALER TO NATURALIST

Being on the coast of California when the "gold-fever" raged, the force of circumstances compelled me to take command of a brig bound on a sealing, sea-elephant and whaling voyage or abandon sea-life, at least temporarily.[1]

With these words, Charles Melville Scammon, whose long career at sea included trading, whaling and Coast Guard service, recorded a turning point in his life. Scammon was a man who always knew that his career and his destiny lay at sea. There are times in everyone's life during which critical, fateful decisions are made. For Scammon, the decision had always been in favor of the sea. He had sailed on trading vessels off the east coast of the United States until he was offered a ship carrying gold-seekers around Cape Horn to California. He arrived in San Francisco about 1850. The city was crowded with Forty-niners scrambling to get to the gold fields. The precious metal had been reported to be lying in the streams of northern California just waiting to be scooped up by those who could get there first.

Scammon may have considered gold seeking but his writings record that he turned instead back to the sea. As new ships anchored in San Francisco Bay, crewmen deserted by the shipload to get in on the bonanza, leaving the bay a forest of idle or abandoned ships. There were few able bodied sailors left to man the ships that were ready to head west through the Golden Gate. In the face of such difficulties, many ship's captains resorted to "shanghai-ing" a crew or gave up the sea and joined the rush toward gold. Scammon, being not inclined to do either of the foregoing, found a job whaling. It was a fateful decision for it led him to fame in three diverse but intimately connected areas: whaling, natural history and geography. It was as a whaler that he gained fame, if not fortune. It was these same whaling activities that caused his name to be left on the landscape in Mexico and in Alaska. And it was whaling that made possible the writing of a book that became a basic tool in the study of whales, or cetology.

Much has been written about Scammon, the whaler. The tale is often told of his discovery of the breeding places of the Pacific Gray Whale in the

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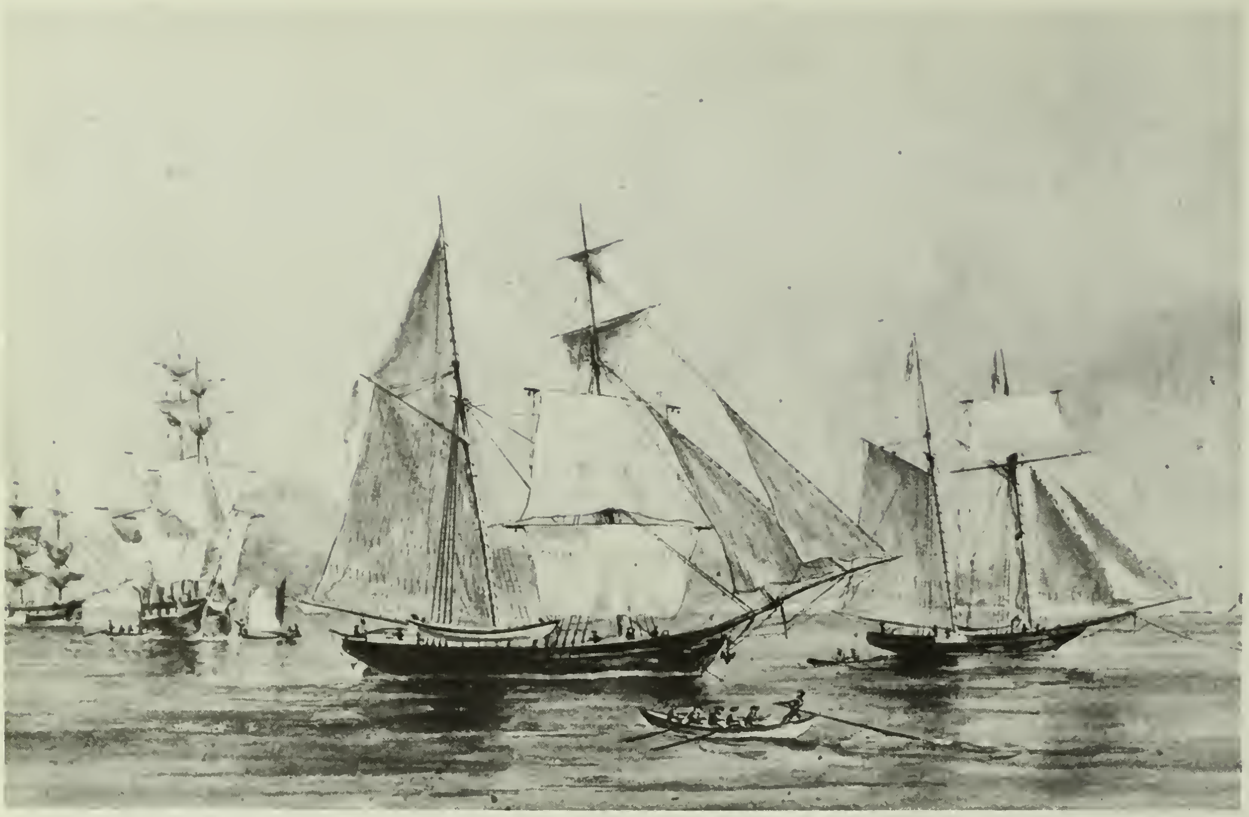
The frontispiece from Charles M. Scammon's 1874 book.



lagoons of Baja California in 1857. It was as surely a turning point for the gray whale as it was for Scammon who foresaw and deplored the near extinction of this unique mammal. Important though this event was for Scammon, it consumed a very small portion of his life at sea.

Scammon became a whaler of necessity and his whaling activities lasted only about eight years. His first recorded whale capture was not a gray but a right whale. It was killed with a new bomb lance harpoon on February 12, 1854 in the Indian Ocean. He went on whaling and sealing voyages along the Pacific Coast of the United States, the Bering Sea and all areas of the Pacific Ocean. He made only three excursions to Laguna de Ojo Liebre (Lagoon of the Rabbit Hole) or Scammon's Lagoon. Yet his name is forever linked with the gray whale and its Mexican breeding grounds.

As a civilized whaler, a phrase Scammon used to designate responsible men who engaged in whaling activities, Scammon was aware of the deleterious effects that lagoon whaling had on the gray whale. He remarked that those areas where whaling had been most intense became deserted as the whale "learned to shun the fatal shore."[2] He was saddened by the fact that this new place and style of whaling that he had originated would soon render the whale extinct. He tried to keep his lagoon a secret—to no avail—and in spite of the destructive nature of the activity he did not cease to captain ships to Baja California. There seems to have been a fascination for the task even as he recognized its end result.

The path that led Scammon from whaling to writing the natural history of the cetacea and pinnipeds is not recorded. He obviously had an interest in, as well as sympathy for, the animals he was hunting. In later years, when he had already decided to write a book on the natural history of the mammals he encountered, he recognized the importance of his whaling activities:

> "The objects of our pursuit were found in great numbers and the opportunities for studying their habits were so good, that I became greatly interested in collecting facts bearing upon the natural history of these animals."[3]

San Francisco Bay busy with whaling ships during the 1850s.

A portrait of Charles Scammon—a part of the Scammon Papers at the Bancroft Library (the photograph is not dated).

It is not clear whether this decision was made while he was still whaling or in later years when he realized how unique his experience and knowledge was. The book that he wrote as a result of this awareness, *The Marine Mammals of the Northwestern Coast of North America,* was a blend of natural history facts about whales and other mammals, the geography of the area and whaling practices of both Americans and Eskimos. It was an impressive production for a man whose formal education had ended around the age of fifteen when he was apprenticed to a sea captain. This paucity of formal education did not hamper his making a major contribution to the scientific world in the foundation of the science of cetology.

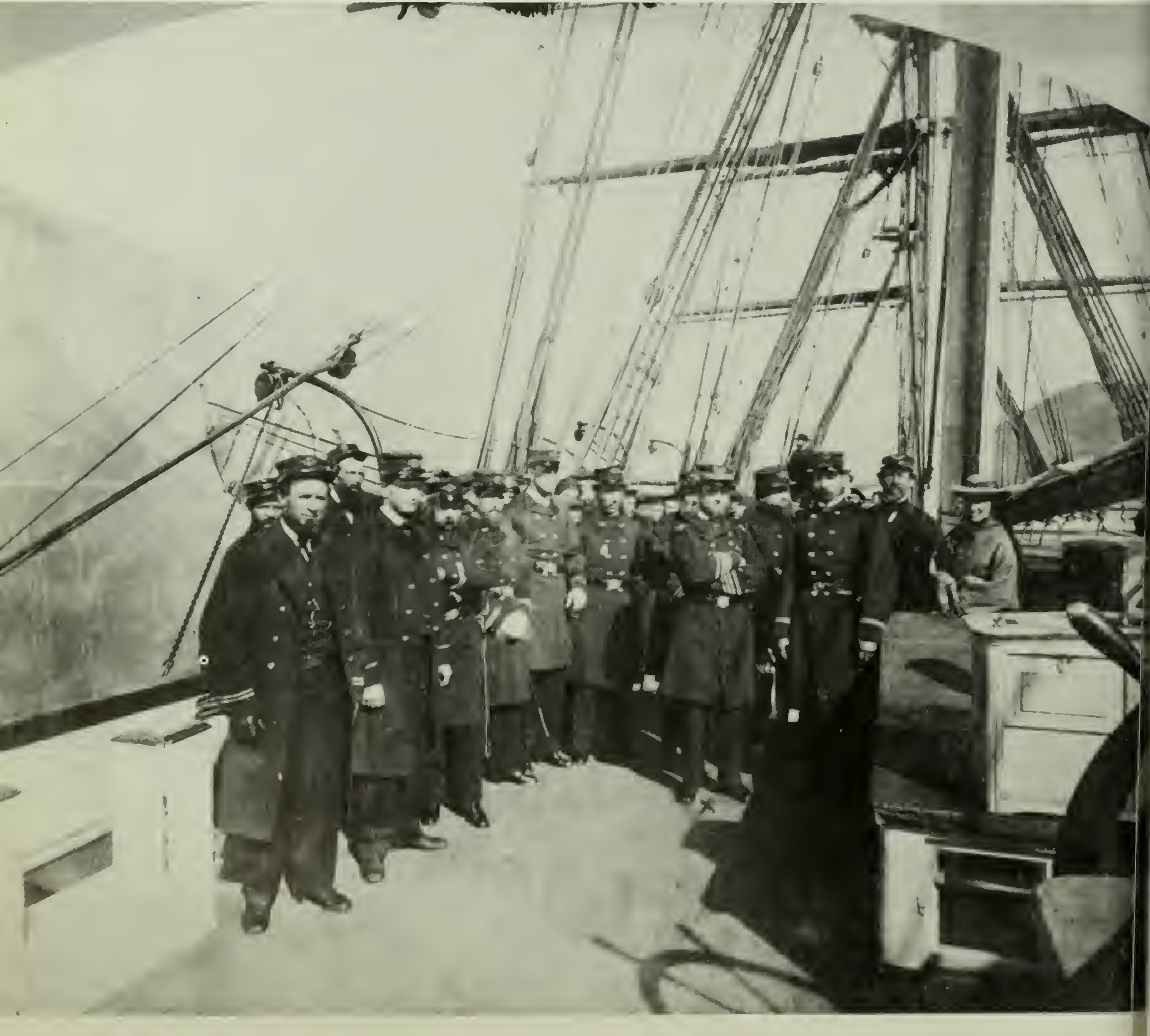
There is a majesty, an awe-inspiring quality about a great whale. Even today whales draw crowds of spectators towards a beached specimen or out to sea on whale-watching tours. Their size, grace and manner are stunning. Scammon, who had been sailing for ten years before he began whaling, had seen many whales in the course of his travels and was always curious to know more about them. During one of his sojourns ashore, he tried to find written material on the whale. There were many legends and stories but few facts. There was nothing on the gray whale. He noted that he was:

> "soon led to believe that, by diligent observation, I should be able to add materially to the scanty stock of information existing."[4]

Scammon engaged in whaling from about 1853 to the beginning of the Civil War in 1861 when he volunteered to join the Revenue Service. His book was published in 1874, thirteen years after he ended his whaling career. These years remained vivid in Scammon's memory since his log books are precise as to date, place, weather and other details of the daily operation of a ship. They do not record much information on natural history. The idea of writing down such facts grew and developed slowly. The inclusion of data such as measurements, food, names and habitat suggests that he kept many notes.

There are several events or factors that contributed to Scammon's focus on natural history. One of the first came after he quit whaling and became a captain in the Revenue Cutter Service (later to be designated the Coast Guard). In 1866 he met William H. Dall who was to be a great influence on him. Scammon was named the commander of a five ship squadron on an expedition to survey Russian America. In 1867 this area was purchased by the United States and became the Alaska Territory. Dall, a nineteen year old Navy Lieutenant, had been chosen for the job of naturalist on the expedition. He was in charge of

Captain Scammon and his crew aboard the Nightingale *at Plover Bay, Alaska in 1866 (looking forward on the ship). Scammon has his arms folded in the center; his wife, Susan, is on the far right.*



invertebrate specimens in addition to being the surgeon and keeper of scientific equipment for himself and six other scientists aboard. Scammon commanded the expedition from his flagship the *Golden Gate* and Dall was assigned to this ship. They must have been drawn together by their interest in marine mammals, though we can only speculate on their meetings and conversations. Dall had been a student at Harvard and had learned much of his zoology from the famed Swiss-American naturalist, Louis Agassiz. One of Scammon's biographers, Campbell Grant,[5] thinks that this meeting with William Dall was the catalyst that led to the writing of Scammon's book, published nine years later.

It is clear that Dall was Scammon's first acquaintance with the academic world, with professional scientists, journals and educational atmosphere. Through this connection Scammon came to realize how great was his knowledge about the living whale. When Scammon's book was published, it included a twenty-six page catalog of Cetacea of the North Pacific written by Dall, then associated with the Smithsonian Institution. He was a respected zoologist when, forty years later, he wrote an obituary for Scammon in *Science* magazine.

It can be concluded that Dall gave Scammon confidence in his own exceptional fund of information and an introduction into an area where it could be understood, published and appreciated. He clearly was aware, after this time, of the worth of his observations and his experience at sea among the whales.

Beginning in 1868 Scammon became associated with another influence that led toward the writing of his book. The *Overland Monthly* was a magazine first published that year in San Francisco. This publication had a unique place in the development of the California cultural community in the late nineteenth century. In its first issue it professed to be a publication that would feature the Pacific Coast in tone and origin. It intended to embrace the commercial and social interests of California and would include only original articles, stories and poems which reflected western talent, ideas and tastes.[6] Its first series, which lasted from 1868 to 1875, was directed and edited by Bret Harte. It included contributions from Mark Twain, Joaquin Miller, J. Ross Browne and others, including Harte himself, who became the literary backbone of the West. The magazine also included articles on travel, art, politics, science and natural history. It was a financial and critical success. It presented the new state of California, a part of the union for only two decades, to the rest of the world. It enjoyed wide circulation that extended to Europe. Charles Dickens was reputedly a reader, especially of Bret Harte stories, and eagerly awaited each issue.[7]

It was in this publication that Scammon's observations were first published. In all, he wrote fifteen articles for the *Overland Monthly*. Five of these were on strictly natural history subjects. They included discussions on the fur seal, sea otter, sea elephant and the orca. None were on whales. Seven other articles concern the geography of the Pacific and the Northwest. He described the Seal Islands of Alaska, Baja California and various aspects of the Pacific Coast including the Farallone Islands, thirty miles west of San Francisco. Three other articles covered whaling practices and hunting for sea elephants.

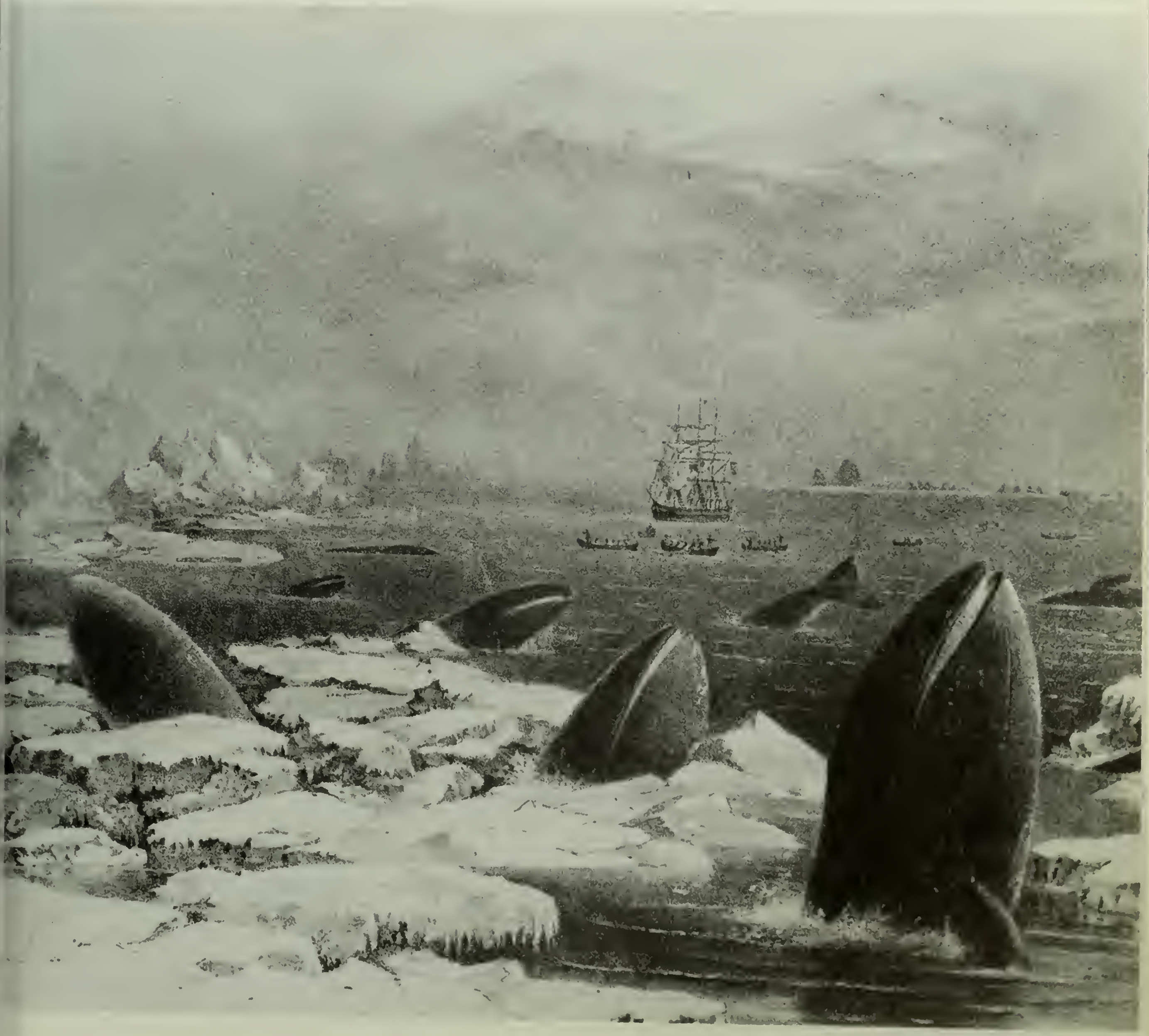
Scammon's writing is precise and spare. His articles contrasted with the popular literary style of the day and with the western flavor of the other articles in *Overland Monthly*. His subjects provided the interest: sights unknown to the reader, animals never seen, the sea, whaling. All of these were replete with drama that was emphasized by the understated calm of the author. The adventure, the inherent danger in the activities described were intensified by the matter-of-fact style of Scammon. He obviously knew his subjects. Whether describing the plight of the seals of the Farallone Islands, which have "fallen victims to the hunter's club and spear" and whose "restless actions manifest a feeling of insecurity"[8] or the approach from the sea to the Columbia River as "a sandy coastline (which) stretches between bold headlands, behind which are navigable waters . . . beset with tortuous or shallow channels of ingress,[9]" Scammon displays a clear, lucid style well suited to his subjects.

During these years, 1868 to 1874, Scammon was on active duty as captain of a Revenue cutter. How much time he had to write is not known. He did take several tours of sick leave ashore. This might have afforded him the time to organize his writings. There is a distinct possibility that these articles served as first drafts for his later book. Several of them—on the fur seal, otter, sea elephant and the orca—were later incorporated into it. None were printed completely verbatim, as measurements, sketches and long explanatory footnotes were added for the book. But it is obvious they were not re-written. The *Overland Monthly* articles then can be viewed as preliminary to the book, almost first drafts. We can conclude that, given the somewhat eclectic nature of *Marine Mammals of the Northwestern Coast,* its makeup was dictated by these articles or at least designed to incorporate the majority of them. This might explain the inclusion of sections on whaling and whaling tools and practices of Alaskan and American whalers. That they were produced prior to the book is unquestioned. That they were intended as part of the book from the first is not so obvious. One point in favor of this view is the illustration of the Orca in the 1872 *Overland Monthly* article which is quite apparently a preliminary sketch for a more complete plate in the book.[10]

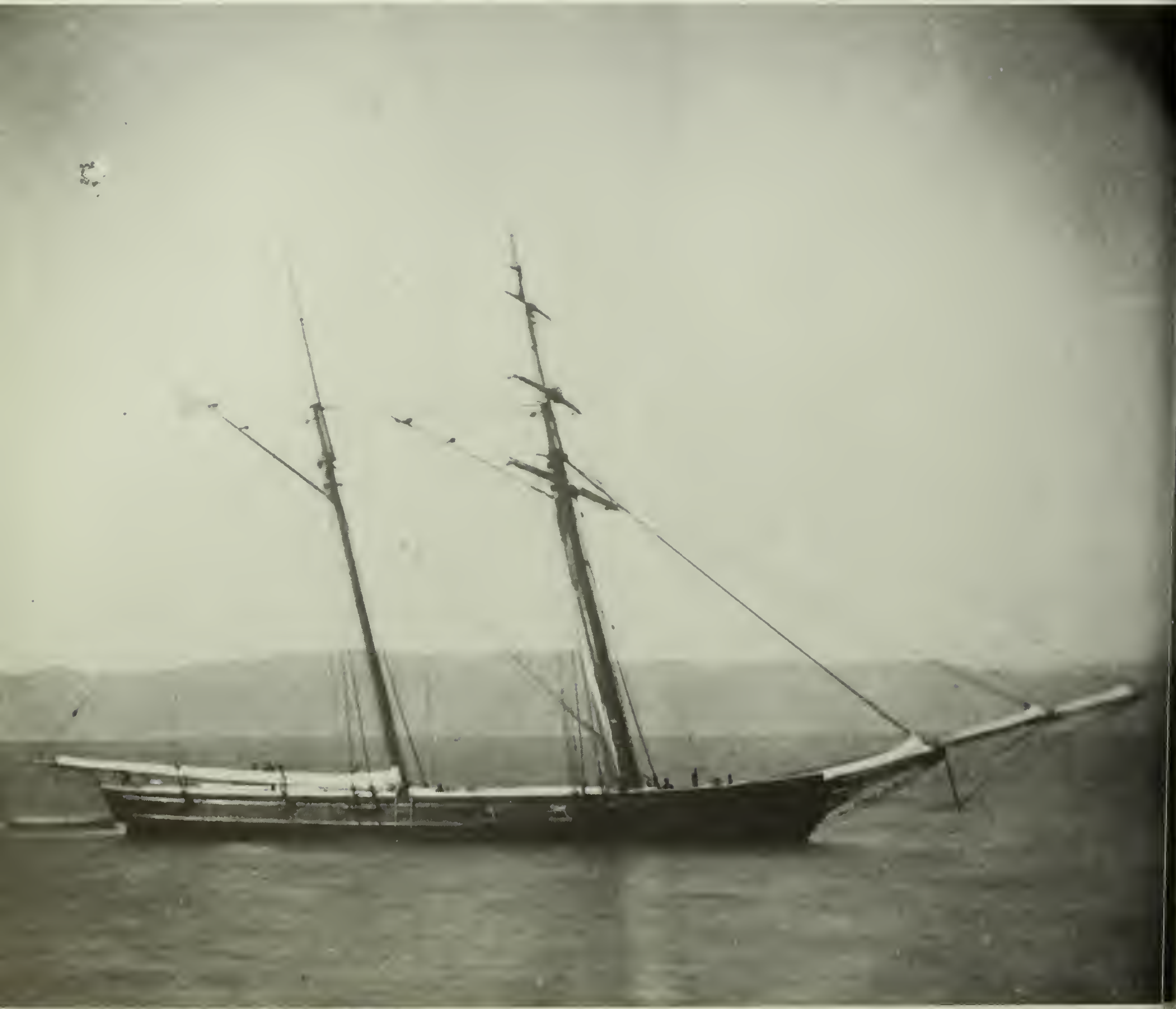
In the early 1870s, while preparing his book, Scammon lived in a house on Ellis Street in San Francisco. He became a part of the cultural, literary life of the city. This also had a decided influence on his decision to write a book. He was in poor health at this time, though still on active duty, and spent much time ashore. His association with the cultural leaders of San Francisco, through his connections with *Overland Monthly* and its publishers, must have been heady for a ship captain from Maine with only a basic education. He did not enjoy this position for long as he moved his family to Sebastopol in 1874. This small town seventy-five miles north of San Francisco was a place where he hoped to recover his health.

His association with writers, publishers, scientists and naturalists lent impetus to work on his book. It is not possible to determine whether this influence was a major cause of the writing of the book. It seems likely to have been highly stimulating as was his introduction to the scientific world. He had informal meetings with Louis Agassiz and other scientists. He became a member of the California Academy of Sciences and presented several talks to the meetings. He dedicated his book to Agassiz, who died the year before it was published, showing his confidence that he was producing information that would be appreciated by zoologists.

That Scammon is now being accepted as one of the pioneer American cetologists, the only American whaler to be so designated, is due almost entirely to his book on marine mammals. In it he published the first extensive description of the Pacific Gray Whale. This light gray barnacle-covered whale is often called a living fossil. It has the most primitive characteristics of all modern whales including a long head and short baleen plates. When first reports of its travels along the California coast reached the zoological establishment of nineteenth century Europe and America, it was linked with one or more extinct species. It was shortly placed in a species classification by itself, *A drawing of California Gray Whales among the ice floes was printed in Scammon's book and signed by him.*



The Joe Lane *was captained by Scammon in 1867 as a Revenue Service Cutter.*



though its scientific name has been changed several times since then.

Scammon produced the first facts about this new species. These were first published in an article by Edward Cope entitled "On Agaphelus, a genus of toothless Cetacea."[11] Cope listed William H. Dall as his source with no mention of Scammon. Whether Scammon was furious about this or not, as claimed by Campbell Grant,[12] he did get several articles printed in scientific journals and was honored by having his name attached to a particular species of balenoptera, since reduced to a sub-class.

Whether or not Scammon was listed as the first describer of the gray whale in scientific circles, there is certainly no doubt that he is credited with giving the first extensive description of it, including aspects of its food and behavior, never before covered. Having little background in established zoological principles, Scammon ignored its connection with extinct varieties. His attention was focused on the living whale that he met in the lagoons and along the coast of California. His pages on the gray whale, numbering only thirteen, are not complete. He could describe only what he could see in the murky waters of the lagoons or offshore. His admiration for these animals shows through in several places. They are described as intelligent, sagacious, sportive, playful and tenacious of life. Despite his occupation, which concerned the killing of these animals, his interest in their natural history was extensive. It might even be possible that this interest shortened his whaling career and may have helped turn his mind toward their natural history.

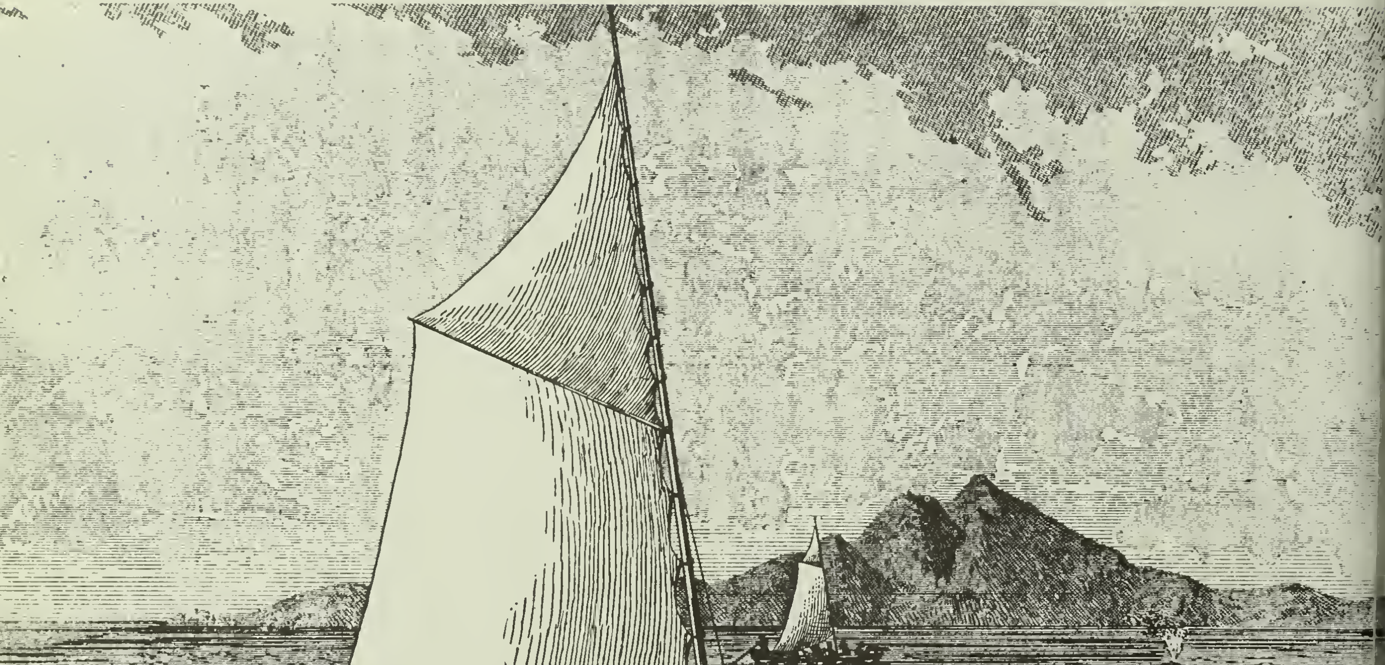
In any study of the gray whale, Scammon's thirteen pages on it in *Marine Mammals* must stand at the beginning. It was the major reference on this whale for fifty years. This book was also used as a source of information on the right, blue, sperm and bowhead whales as well as dolphin, pinnipeds or seals and sea elephants. Scammon also added to knowledge of the habits of the killer whale or orca. The book included one hundred pages on American whaling practices and techniques, interesting for its detailed descriptions of methods and of equipment. It is not a comfortable mixture of subjects. It can be seen as a compendium of knowledge and experience possessed by Captain Scammon. In this aspect it is a very personal book, though written in a decidedly impersonal style.

Scammon wrote no other books after *Marine Mammals*. This book was his *magnum opus* though it was a financial failure. He and his publisher, John Carmany, however, considered it such an important book that they freely distributed copies to friends and to libraries. According to one report,[13] there were still many copies in the offices of John Carmany on April 6, 1906. They disappeared in San Francisco's great earthquake and fire.

The Revenue Service continued to be Scammon's primary place of employment until he retired in 1894. He wrote one more article for *Overland Monthly* in 1883. He was reportedly at work on a scientific treatise at this time, but the section on the manatee, or sea cow, was the only part published. He observed two captured specimens in Key West, Florida in 1880 but he was not enthralled with these slow and pudgy animals. He calls them interesting but of a low order, thick, sluggish, with eyes devoid of expression. He quotes other writers on the subject, though it is clear that little was known about them. Scammon did not even know their scientific species classification, though it had been established in the eighteenth century.

Scammon's last article was not one of his better efforts and, ironically, it was the only one that carried his name on it when the magazine was published. The original contributions to the *Overland Monthly* were traditionally identified by author only in the

A drawing by Scammon for the second part of his book which covered whaling practices.



index. This policy was changed after the first five years. Scammon was sixty-four years old when this article was printed and he retired from the Revenue Service only four years later. Apparently ill, though he lived to the venerable age of ninety-six, he wrote no more, explored no more.

Scammon had gained notoriety in the years when the adventure, danger and drama of whaling were popular subjects for literature and drama. There is reason to believe that, though the mechanics of whaling seem to have fascinated him, he was not enamored of the actual killing of the whales of any species. It is ironic, therefore, that he has remained most visible as the discoverer of the breeding lagoons of the gray whale and the leader of the slaughter that rendered them almost extinct. His other accomplishments were not as notorious or spectacular but he would certainly be as pleased at the label of "cetologist" as he ever was to be called sea captain.

All of the photographs are courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Notes

1. Charles M. Scammon, *Marine Mammals of the Northwestern Coast of North America* (John Carmony, 1874), p. 11.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Campbell Grant, *Charles Melville Scammon: Sea Captain-Naturalist* (Riverside: Manessier Pub. Co., 1968), p. xxiv. (This is an introduction to a facsimile edition of *Marine Mammals.*)
6. Ernest R. May, "The Overland Monthly Under Bret Harte" (unpublished dissertation, University of California, 1949).
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Overland Monthly*, Vol. 15, 1875, p. 57.
9. *Overland Monthly*, Vol. 13, 1871, p. 371.
10. *Overland Monthly*, Vol. 14, 1872, p. 52.
11. *Proceedings of Academy of Natural Sciences*, Philadelphia 1868, No. 4, p. 221.
12. Grant, *Charles Scammon*, p. xxviii.
13. *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

REVIEWS

W. Michael Mathes, *Reviews Editor*

Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

Books Commemorating the Bicentennial of the Founding of Los Angeles

One of the ways Americans celebrate historic occasions is to publish a plethora of books. It has almost become a national pastime, witness the two hundredth anniversary of the nation's independence in 1976. Thus, when it came time to celebrate the bicentennial of the founding of Los Angeles in 1981, one could have anticipated a flood of books. Not so! The publishing world responded with restraint. One also might add, with a bit more quality rather than quantity.

The publication highlights of 1980-81 (the bicentennial year) consisted of two original historical treatments, lavishly illustrated; a book composed of historic photographs with supporting text, and a charmingly written appreciation of Los Angeles by a talented writer. Each in its own way was worthy of the occasion.

Two talented historians took on the task of writing special coffee-table sized histories for Los Angeles' birthday. David Lavender prepared *Los Angeles, Two Hundred Years*, published by Continental Heritage Press, Inc., Tulsa, Oklahoma (240 pp., $24.95), while David Clark wrote *Los Angeles, A City Apart*, published by Windsor Publications, Inc., Woodland Hills, California (252 pp., $24.95). The books share much in common: the same subject; handsome design and layout; lavish use of illustrations, both black and white as well as color; comparable appagination; identical size and price, and both are well written. Each includes a chronology of the city's history, Clark places his as the first chapter, while Lavender's comes at the end of his narrative. Each also concludes with a section devoted to Los Angeles institutional,

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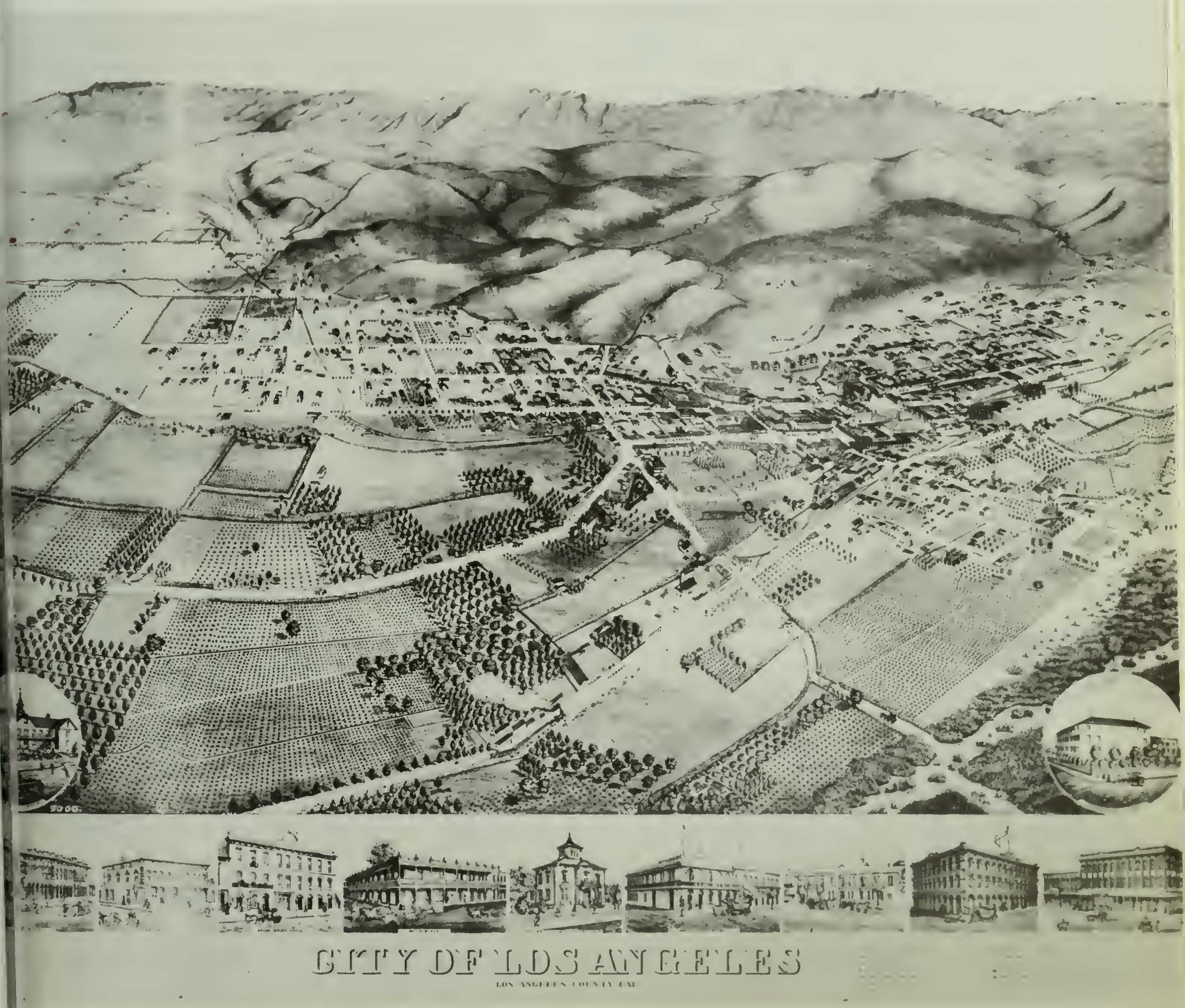
Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. is Professor of History at the University of Southern California and the author of numerous books and articles. Most recently he edited the second edition of W. W. Robinson's *Los Angeles From the Days of the Pueblo* which was published by CHS this past fall.

Los Angeles in 1871 as drawn by E. S. Glover


CITY OF LOS ANGELES
LOS ANGELES COUNTY CAL.

BELOW: *Los Angeles' infamous "Nigger Alley" looking north about 1882.*

corporate and business firm capsule histories. The inclusion of the latter helped to defray cost of publication. Each contains an index and acknowledgments, and Clark adds a bibliography.

Clark divides his historical narration into ten chapters, while Lavender uses eight. Clark's chronology is also presented in narrative form, while Lavender's is strictly date and event. Both books are fairly even in distribution of subject matter and content.

Nevertheless, there are several marked differences. Clark tends to emphasize more interpretation; Lavender elaborates more on events and personalities. Clark has somewhat of a broader sweep, but Lavender has a keener appreciation for condensation. Both approaches have merit. In the main, Lavender's picture captions are more detailed than those in Clark, and Lavender's chronology is far more meticulous in coverage. As for the closing section in each, appropriately called "Partners in Progress" in Clark and "Partners in Economic Progress" in Lavender, these

The Los Angeles Plaza Church served early residents for a number of years. It is seen here toward the end of the 1880s.

mini-histories are not without merit even if there are some duplicate entries.

No reader should approach these two books expecting definitive treatment of the history of Los Angeles. Instead, they are popular histories, in the best sense of that word, prepared for the general audience. For what they attempt, namely a readable and brief history, made less painful by good writing and handsome illustrations, they succeed admirably. As in such works, one can always pick the specks out of the pepper. For example, there are some bloopers in both, but Lavender's appears to have suffered from less editorial attention, especially in proofing copy, than Clark's, and there are some errors in Lavender's chronology. On balance, I would be hard pressed to choose one over the other. That's why I am glad I have both. Each makes its own individual contribution.

In contrast to the Clark and Lavender books, Bruce Henstell has placed emphasis on the pictorial rather than an extended narrative text in his *Los Angeles, An Illustrated History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1980, 223 pp., $25.00). In sixteen chapters he traces the history of Los Angeles in visual materials, primarily black and white photographs, although there is a single chapter in dazzling color. Each chapter begins in most instances with a two-page narration, followed by a bevy of photographs germaine to the chapter's theme. Much of the story is told in lengthy captions, and rightly so since this is an illustrated history.

The photographs have been well selected, as were those in the Clark and Lavender books. Henstell eschews using the familiar and has striven to include "fresh" images of the city's historic past. His success is apparent: this is a fresh-faced look at Los Angeles as captured by the lenses of many cameras, amateur and professional.

The book is well made, somewhat shorter in height than the larger Clark and Lavender works. But like them, it has a few added features: a sparse chronology and a capsule bibliography. An index is omitted. In contrast to Clark and Lavender, this is really a "pic" book, to use the vernacular of the trade.

One of the more entertaining of the books issued to commemorate the city's bicentennial was authored by John C. Weaver, *Los Angeles: The Enormous Village, 1781-1981* (Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1980, 238 pp., paper, $8.95). This is actually a revised and enlarged edition of Weaver's *El Pueblo Grande: Los Angeles from the Brush Huts of Yangna to the Skyscrapers of the Modern Megalopolis* published by the Ward Ritchie Press in 1973. An abridged version of that trade edition was especially printed for the Atlantic Richfield Company (500 copies) for private distribution.

With great humor and with an eye for the unusual, Weaver provides an informative and sparkling tale. He gallops through the early history up to 1899 in two chapters, which consume only one-fifth of the

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book's contents. His primary focus is the present century, and he ploughs through these past eighty years, decade by decade, treating each to a chapter. The narrative is presented in chiseled prose, easy to read and digest. There are some surprises in the material covered, particularly in detail and anecdote, but on the whole the terrain is familiar. As in the previous 1973 edition, the book concludes with a section entitled "Los Angeles Miscellany" which is a mini-mini almanac of information on topics ranging from Angels Flight, a former landmark, to Yangna, the Indian village which was the city's antecedent. Sources used and an index round out the volume.

This new expanded edition has a decided point of view: it is an upbeat treatment of the city's development. Few of the city's warts are revealed. It is obvious that Weaver loves L.A. Nothing wrong about that, but it does make for a rosier picture than perhaps facts warrant. This is not to impute to Weaver distortion or error, for he certainly has done his homework to render a factually accurate portrait in what he paints. Rather, it is in the area of what is included and how the city is perceived in the eye of the author that no doubt will generate criticism. On the other hand, perhaps a history clothed in positivism will be welcomed by those grown tired of reading the seamy side of life as it is spread across the local daily newspapers and carried into our homes in living color through television newscasts.

And speaking of newspapers, 1981 marked the

One of many Los Angeles real estate ventures in the late 1800s involved the sale of the William Wolfskill tract.

centenary of the founding of the Los Angeles *Times*. To honor that coincident event a large book (11″×14″) was fashioned, appropriately entitled, *Front Page: 100 Years of the Los Angeles Times, 1881-1981* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1981, 287 pp., $25.00). Brief prefatory statements from Otis Chandler (Chairman of the Board), W. Thomas Johnson (Publisher), and William F. Thomas (Editor), all of the Times Mirror Corporation which owns the *Times*, followed by a brief essay by Digby Diehl, introduce 240 facsimile front pages from the newspaper. The reproductions are arranged chronologically with the century of publication divided into decades. At least one front page from each year in the decade is included, although the average is two, with the number of front pages in each section ranging from a dozen upward. The reproductions are sharp and clear, although there are occasional bloopers (see pp. 218, 220). The selection for 1981 is headlined: THE HOSTAGES FLY TO FREEDOM; the secondary headline is: "Reagan Takes Office, Asks 'National Renewal.'" The date: January 21. So, if you like to hopscotch through Los Angeles history as reported in the front pages of the *Times*, this book is for you. Unfortunately there is no index, so scholarly and reference use is strictly limited.

One of the enduring features of Los Angeles has been captured within the pages of *The Old Plaza Church, A Documentary History* (222 pp., $14.00) compiled and edited by Msgr. Francis J. Weber, the archivist for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. This is another title in his series of documentary histories of the California missions. He has elected to include Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles, the Plaza Church's official name, since it was one of five *asistencias* or assistant missions founded in Alta California.

The church's history is chronicled in forty-two selections which have been drawn from an equal number of publications, both books and magazines. The subject matter is distributed mostly on a chronological arrangement, dating from 1769, when Fray Juan Crespí named the Los Angeles River, to 1971, an extracted article which was critical of the recent restoration of the historic church. The two concluding pieces do not fall within the otherwise structured chronology and are definitely out of sequence.

This historical anthology has much to recommend it. One quickly gleans the role the venerable church has played in the Plaza area, the historic heart of old Los Angeles. Indeed, one comes to view the Old Plaza Church as a faithful reflection of the city's past. Many of the selections are firsthand accounts; the rest are secondary, some of them no doubt based on documentary sources. The most impressive piece is the republication of J. Thomas Owen's historical account of the church, 1784-1960. However, his extensive footnotes have been omitted. Nevertheless, it is the jewel in the volume. The other selections are merely its facets.

Unfortunately, there are two criticisms to be voiced. First, several of the illustrations are in error either as to positioning (the frontispiece) or in identification. Second, Msgr. Weber has included from his own writings his 1968 study, *El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles*, which details his reasons for the original name given the pueblo when it was founded. A contrary opinion has been expressed by Theodore E. Treutlein, which disputes Msgr. Weber's contention. That study was published in the *Southern California Quarterly*, Spring 1973. Prudent readers will wish to evaluate the question by consulting both points of view. This cavil aside, Msgr. Weber has provided us with a valuable book, worthy of inclusion on any list of books relating to Los Angeles. It is available from Dawson's Book Shop, 535 North Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90004.

A Van Nuys tract office offered "Free Souvenirs and Literature" in 1912.

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LITERATURE

One of the most imposing and monumental books published, one which enriches the history of medicine in Los Angeles, is the magnificent study by Helen Eastman Martin, M.D. This extraordinary book details *The History of the Los Angeles County Hospital (1878-1968) and the Los Angeles County–University of Southern California Medical Center (1968-1978)*. Dr. Martin, long associated with both institutions, labored on this history for many years; retirement made possible its completion. Historians of Los Angeles will be indebted to her for her model scholarship, thoroughness, accuracy, and wealth of information packed within the 548 pages of text and numerous illustrations.

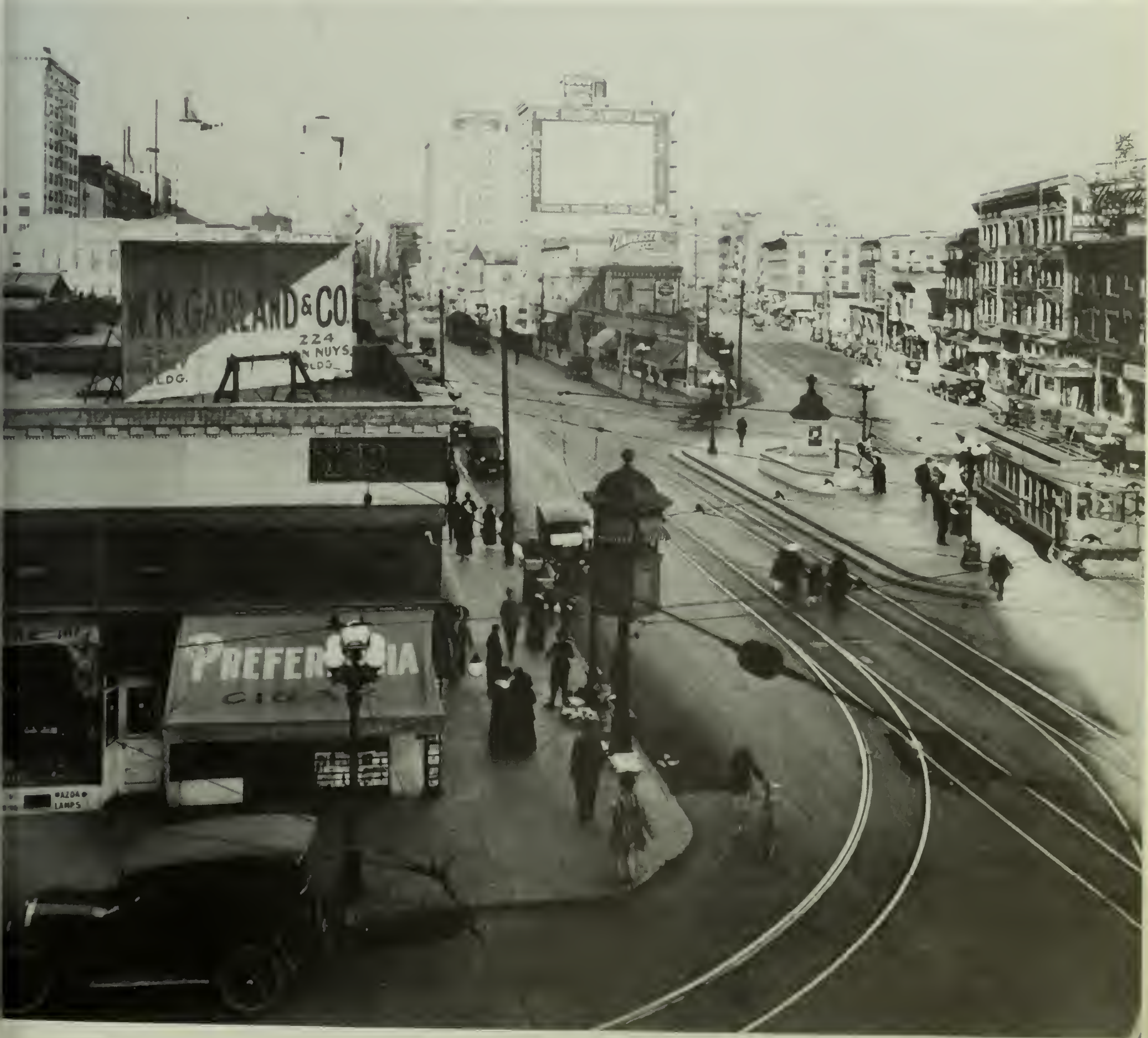
The text is divided into five parts. Part I surveys the first county hospitals from 1858-1878. Part II commences the story of the present county hospital, first located on Mission Road, 1878-1933. Part III provides details of the new edifice, built on State Street, for the years 1933-1956. The last two parts center attention on the twenty years of tremendous growth and change, 1956-1976, and a discussion of the various medical departments, administration, and other hospital services as they are presently constituted. A brief epilogue and eight short appendices conclude the volume, capped by excellent name and subject indexes.

Factually, the content of the book is extremely rich; no stone has been left unturned. Each section, each chapter has been carefully researched and tastefully written. It is an exhaustive study of Los Angeles' major hospital and one of the nation's important medical centers. We can be grateful that the University of Southern California Press undertook the book's publication.

The book is available only from *Cares*, Suite 303-A, Parkview Medical Bldg., USC School of Medicine, 2025 Zonal Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90003. The price is $21.50 (plus tax and postage). Proceeds go to the hospital.

On a more restricted theme and within a more compressed time frame, *Commercial Los Angeles, 1925-1947* (Glendale, Calif.: Interurban Press, 1981, 144 pp., paper, $14.95), is not without merit. Com-

The junction of Main, Spring and Nineteenth, 1917.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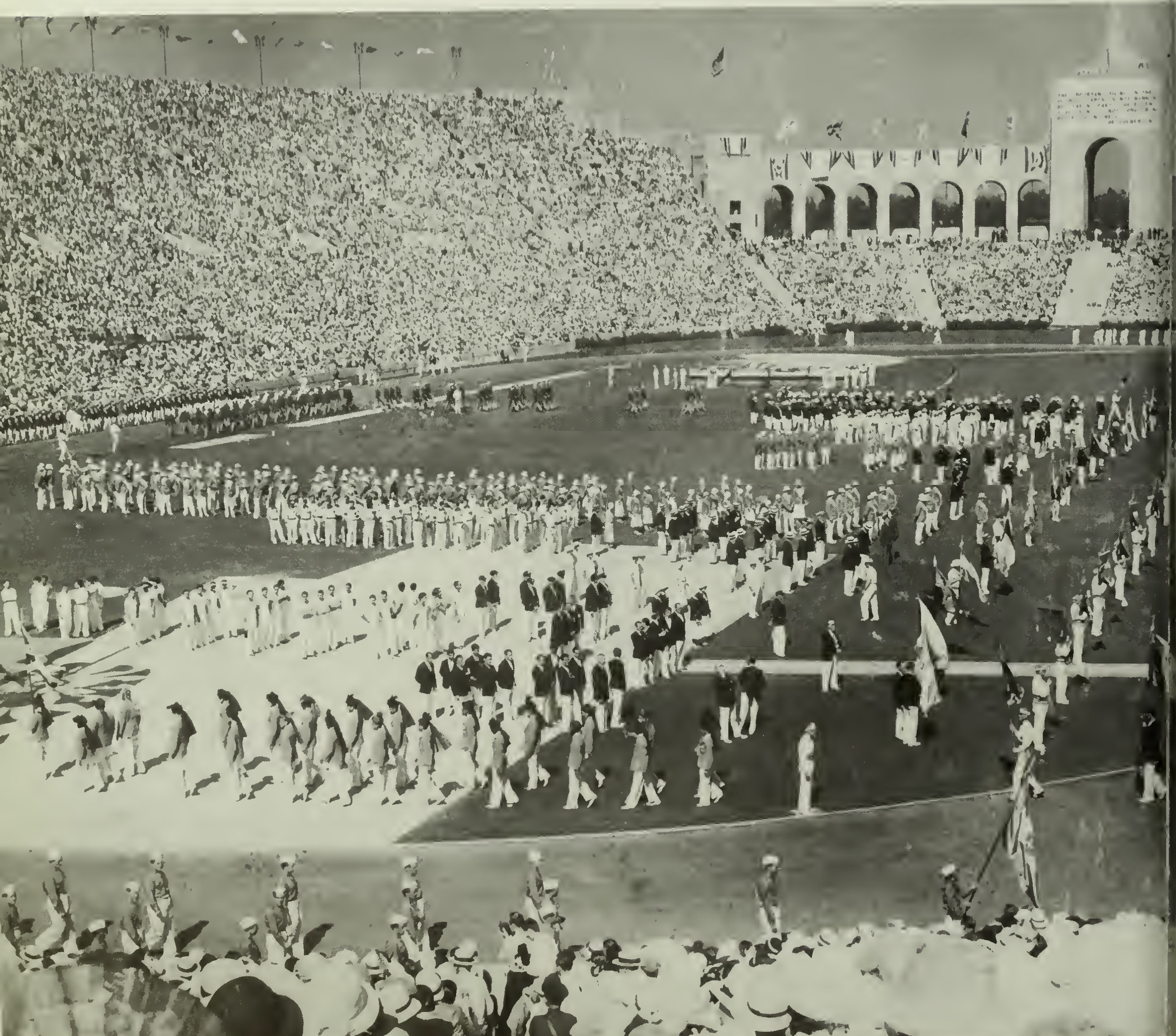
Before some 105,000 persons who filled Los Angeles' Olympic Stadium, athletes from fifty different countries marched in a "Parade of the Nations" to officially open the 1932 Olympic games.



piled by Bill Bradley, this book contains 151 photographs from the "Dick" Whittington Studio of Los Angeles. The photographs are arranged on a chronological basis with a running commentary supplied by the compiler. Bold face type identifies each company with smaller type under each picture, where appropriate, providing limited additional information. Bradley's commentaries present more information than do the captions. The latter might more properly be called labels. This book, at best, is a nostalgic one, but it will provide informed pleasure.

Thus has Los Angeles' 200th birthday been celebrated in pic and print. Perhaps in another hundred years it will warrant a multi-volume history of the city itself. Until that time, when a definitive history is published, these current books at least have enlightened and informed us on many dimensions of one of the nation's largest and most famed cities. Happy Birthday, Los Angeles! *Muchos años mas*!

The photograph of the Olympics is courtesy of the *Los Angeles Times.* All others are from the CHS Library.

Women aircraft workers prepare another plane for service during World War II.

Book Reviews

Atlas of California

By Michael W. Donley, et. al. (Culver City: Pacific Book Center, 1979, 191 pp.).

Reviewed by Warren A. Beck, *Professor of History at California State University, Fullerton, and author of several books and an atlas on California.*

This is a work simply bursting with conventional and unconventional information. It is a large book of 175 beautifully colored maps which make it invaluable for anyone interested in California. The large number of graphs and charts and the extensive textual material make this as much an encyclopedia as an atlas. There are four basic sections titled the human imprint, economic patterns, physical environment, and reference; in the latter there is a sub-section, a gazetteer.

The human imprint section has all of the maps one would expect to find in a work like this from Indians, missions, land grants, to gold mining. Land use maps of the most populous areas of the state are a welcome addition. Colored maps of the evolution of the downtown areas of San Francisco and Los Angeles are an important feature. Numerous graphs and charts answer virtually any question a reader might have about population from density to ethnic characteristics to religion. A series of maps show all the high schools, colleges, and universities in the state. Unfortunately, there were some omissions in the listing of private institutions. A chart on average high school salaries is meaningless because such material is soon dated by inflation.

The economic section is also most complete with in depth treatment of agriculture, water, minerals, fisheries and trade and manufacturing. This reviewer is skeptical of the value of a map showing newspaper endorsement of presidential candidates but welcomes the addition of maps on tourist attractions and recreational sites. However, to exclude the state historical site at Columbia is a surprising omission. Maps of all major professional sports in the nation seem out of place in an atlas of California. Then too, this reviewer notes many changes in the National Basketball Association since the map went to press.

The physical section is as valuable as the other sections. In addition to expected coverage of landforms, geology, precipitation, soils, etc., there are maps on catastrophes and air pollution.

No reader will agree that every map in this book is necessary but all will concur that this is a work which is indispensable to anyone interested in the Golden State.

Law for the Elephant.

By John Phillip Reid (San Marino: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1980. 440 pp. $18.50).

Reviewed by John M. Townley, *retired Director of the Nevada Historical Society.*

When a Professor of Law undertakes interpretation of the overland migrations from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific slope between 1849 and completion of the transcontinental railroad almost two decades later, the reader should expect something to differ from the more traditional histories of emigration by the professional historian or enthusiast. Then, to compound this unusual situation, the reviewer chosen certainly has no credentials as a trails specialist. But, no matter, the book can well stand on its own merits regardless of the origins of author or reviewer.

First, the potential reader should be warned that *Law For the Elephant* is no traditional reexamination of the emigration process, stressing the romance or even the geography of the plains and mountains dividing the Mississippi and Pacific. Reid has chosen the overland migrations as the laboratory for a premise, which is presented fairly early—on page eleven, in fact—and states that ". . . the habits, actions, and values of nineteenth-century American society were formed by a behaviorism based on law." For Reid, the homogenous legal attitudes and backgrounds of emigrants kept the trail orderly, safe and even tidy. The concept that beyond Westport chaos, anarchy and unrestrained personal freedom reigned supreme is examined in generous, even laborious detail, and rejected on the basis of examples illustrating its fallacy. To quote, "the standards of propriety had not changed. What had been improper conduct at home remained improper beyond the western frontier." Once having unfurled the banner of peer and cultural pressures working effectively to restrain freebooting behavior and settle disputes, Reid then employs the remainder of the work in proving his case with data selected from emigrant diaries.

Frankly, it was enjoyable to read what could be described as either a legal brief or history. Despite belaboring his point, Reid assembled his arguments clearly and pleasantly, so that the act of following the author's narrative ran smoothly with enough first-person quotations interspersed to retain the nineteenth century flavor of the trail. Still, there was the brimstone hint of rhetoric about the text. Reid approached overkill at times in first, piling instance upon instance of the use of Common Law as a knee-jerk reaction among emigrants over individual violence, and second, broadly hinting that the Turnerian interpreters of the trail's ability to transform emigrants into practicing anarchists were either legal or historical ignorami (probably both). It was interesting to watch Reid point out, with fairness, the failings of historians in perceiving some of the trail's complexities, particularly those in which property determines behavior. This insensitivity of the contemporary historian comes from a left-of-center, even Marxist orientation, Reid argues, with a suspicion that the historians are not without their own rhetorical blindspots when property and interpretation are involved. In this area, the author appears to be influenced more from personal bias than the strength of his evidence, although his criticisms bear merit. Still, the unusual spectacle of a lawyer getting his own back from the historians reads well. He can rest assured that his proposals will be tested by the defense, oops, the students of the past.

Some attention should be directed to the book-making aspect of the work, which is thoroughly and competently done. Type style and size help the reader progress from chapter to chapter and the paperstock was chosen for good contrast and negative reflectivity. The Huntington Library should bear some kind of reward for accepting the extra costs of placing footnotes conveniently on the page of reference. The illustrations are not spectacular and appear as an afterthought, but the index redeems whatever failings the volume might have as a "picture-book." The bibliography is adequate, but reminds one again of the need for an update of *Wagner and Camp* or a contemporary one-volume finding aid to manuscript and in-print overland diaries, by date and major trail. In conclusion, regarding the dust jacket, am I alone in disliking *Bruff* as an artist?

California Artists 1935 to 1956.

By Dewitt Clinton McCall III (Bellflower, California: Jones and McCall Enterprises, 1981. 140 illus., 212 pp. $50.00, Deluxe Edition, $150.00).

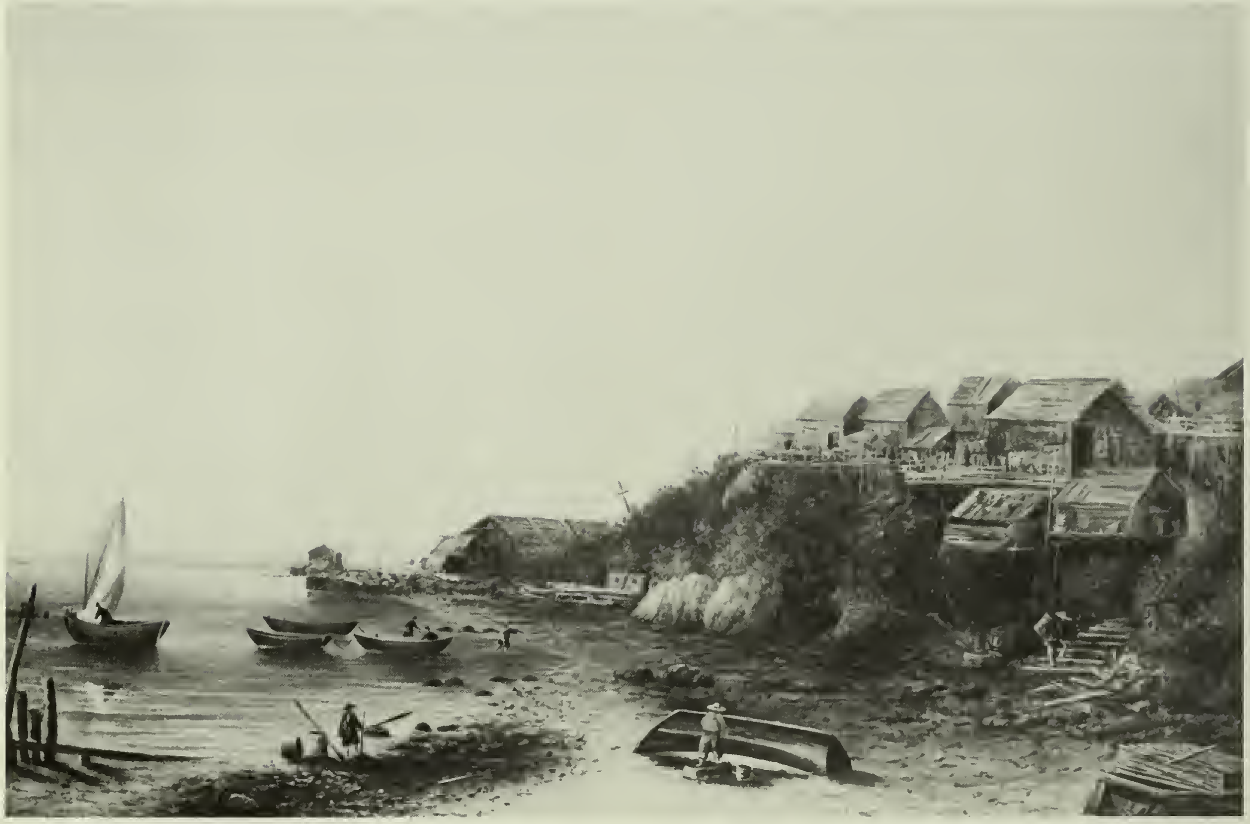
Reviewed by Bruce Kamerling, *Curator of Collections, San Diego Historical Society.*

The author of this book states that it is intended to be a guide for "Art Dealers, Collectors and Historians of California Art." Perhaps the book will appeal to unscholarly art dealers and collectors who love to boast that the artist of their work is listed in such-and-such a reference. For the person seriously interested in California art history, however, the book is nearly useless. As for historians . . . it is common knowledge that historians are concerned with dates. The only dates presented in this entire book are those on the cover, which in many cases are very misleading.

Without even a brief historical introduction to the subject, the first half of this book contains only an alphabetical listing of artists, giving their name, place of residence, and media in which they worked. This list of almost 1500 names appears to have been compiled from the first six volumes of *Who's Who in American Art* and "Information known by the Author" (which presumably accounts for the inclusion of one Hester Arnetta McCall). None of the valuable biographical information found in *Who's Who* is presented. If the author had at least added the volume numbers for each entry, and then called his work an illustrated index of California artists listed in *Who's Who*, it might have served some useful purpose.

The fact that the author contributes no original research and did not even check the listings against other sources creates some serious flaws. In a quick spot check of artists whose last name begins with B, the reviewer discovered that Florence Parker Bloser died in 1935, and Harry Cassie Best, Leon Bonnet and George Kennedy Brandriff died in 1936. Certainly, their inclusion is confusing. Even more bewildering is the inclusion of museum directors, curators and art dealers such as Carl S. Dentzel, Reginald Poland and William R. Valentiner in a book which purports to present "California Artists." Many of the artists mentioned worked and lived in more than one location during the period given, therefore, giving only one place of residence without benefit of

"Chinese Fishing Village from Rincon Point," by Frederick A. Butman



chronology is often misleading. Donal Hord, for example, is listed as a sculptor in Santa Barbara. Hord did study at the Santa Barbara School of the Arts from 1926 to 1928, but spent his entire professional career in San Diego. Belle Baranceanu, one of the State's most talented and prolific muralists during the thirties and forties, is not even mentioned as having done murals.

Fortunately, the second section of the book which contains the 140 illustrations has some merit. The color photographs are quite stunning, particularly the glorious Alfred Mitchell on the cover. The black and white illustrations are, for the most part, excellent, although some paintings simply don't "read" well in black and white and other images might better have been substituted. The selection provides a fairly broad cross-section of work, both as to subject matter and medium, although only one sculptor's work is shown and no murals are illustrated. Again, however, the value of this section is diminished by the complete lack of dates.

The book itself is handsomely produced with expensive paper, "library" binding, and quality illustrations, which must account for the price. The large type is easy to read and certainly helps pad the "text" section. As far as content is concerned, except for the illustrations, the same amount of information could have been produced on a few instant-printed pages for a couple of dollars. The boom in interest in California art history has produced a lot of printed material aimed to appeal to the growing bands of "Art Dealers, Collectors, and Historians." Some of this material is useful. Most of it is overpriced. This volume, unfortunately, falls into the second category.

San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis.

By Oscar Lewis (San Diego: Howell North Books, 1980. Second Edition, $6.95).

Reviewed by Rev. John B. McGloin, S.J., *Professor of History, University of San Francisco and author of* San Francisco: The Story of a City (1978).

Oscar Lewis' second edition of his previously published (1966) *San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis* is a welcome updating of its story to the present time. (A minor miracle should be recorded here: the original price of $6.95 has been maintained with the appearance of this second edition!).

Long held in deserved and highest esteem by those who know of his many publications, Oscar Lewis may at this writing be regarded as the Dean of San Francisco historians. The book under consideration has been used in many schools and has been read by thousands since 1966. (It would seem that one need not be a native of "The City" to attain distinction as a chronicler of its past: Mr. Lewis was born in Redding, California).

The second edition of *Mission to Metropolis* is enhanced by a partially rewritten chapter entitled "The Contemporary Scene." Some may wonder why certain "pet topics" are not covered here; however, the answer is obvious—it was simply a matter of selection and the reader will find most important areas, problems, etc. well covered. Some aptly chosen and new illustrations further enhance the book's value. Despite the fact that an unfortunate last page (p. 259) is superfluous, this minor flaw in no way subtracts from the worth of this second and partially revised edition.

The photograph is from the CHS Fine Arts Collections.

California Check List

By Joy Berry, *Reference Librarian*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

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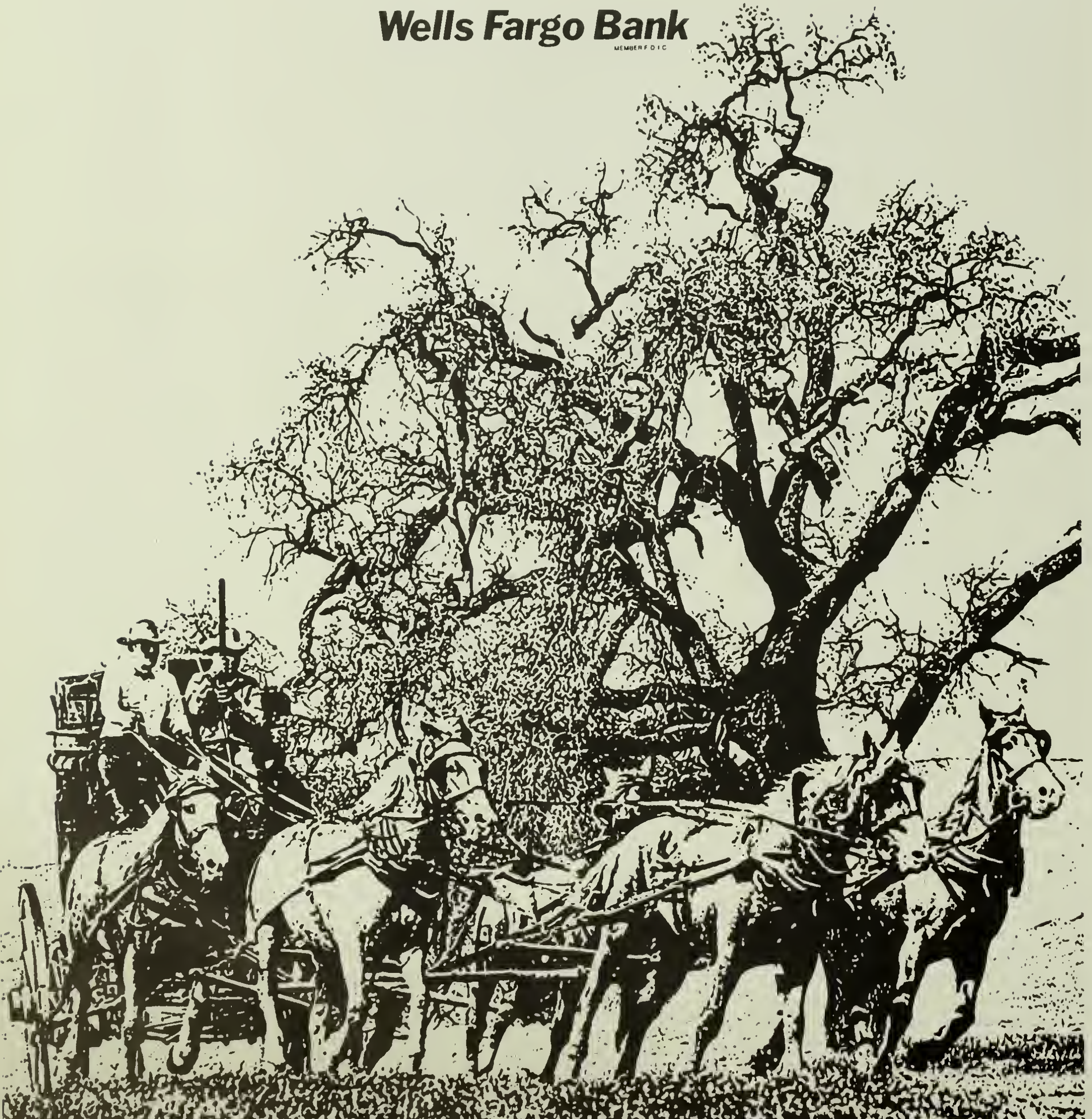

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ORNIA HISTORY
Summer

California History

The Magazine of the California Historical Society

summer 1982

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CALIFORNIA HISTORY
Published quarterly: ©1982 by CHS
Annual membership $25.00

Student membership $15.00

$10.00 of each CHS membership is designated for subscription to *California History*

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Articles for publication, books for review and editorial correspondence should be sent to the Managing Editor, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco 94109. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate with a stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or opinions of the authors.

LC 75-640289
ISSN 0612-2897
Second-class postage paid at
San Francisco, California and additional
mailing offices.
Publication number 084180

COVER

Once called "a very mount of inspiration" Mt. Tamalpais has numerous literary associations which are discussed in the article beginning on page 82. The mountain is seen here in a detail from William Birch McMurtrie's painting, c. 1855. *Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.*

California History

The Magazine of the California Historical Society

PUBLISHED SINCE 1922

VOLUME LXI SUMMER 1982 NO. 2

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Literary Associations

It was most grand, more like some views of the Alps than anything I have seen before–those glimpses of the landscape beneath through foggy curtains.
(William H. Brewer, after a climb in 1862 while mapping for the California Geological Survey; the first written account of a climb to the summit.)

There is no finer mountain for its height–two thousand six hundred feet–on all the continent of America, than Tamalpais.
(Albert S. Evans, editor of the *San Francisco Daily Alta,* after an unsuccessful bear hunt on the Mountain in 1869.

Sometimes in cathedrals one feels the awe and majesty of columns. These columns were more impressive than anything of stone; these columns were alive. They were more like gods than anything I have ever seen.
(John Masefield, after a visit to Muir Woods in January 1937.)[1]

For well over a century Mt. Tamalpais, near San Francisco, has been a source of inspiration to poets and painters, as well as a mecca for millions of visitors. The name is derived from two Indian words *tamal* for bay and *pais* for mountain. It was also called Table Hill and Table Mountain. The earliest documented climbs were in 1862, but it would be nice to think that much earlier some young sailor from a Yankee whaler, sent ashore at Sausalito for wood and water, found the temptation irresistible to climb to the top. An old visitor register, kept on the mountain from 1880 to 1884, has the signatures of 850 persons who had climbed to the highest point. By the 1920s, many thousands of hikers arrived at the mountain every weekend, thronging across from San Francisco and Berkeley by ferry to Sausalito and then by train to Mill Valley. From 1896 to 1930, the ride to the summit on the Mount Tamalpais Scenic Railway as as much *de rigueur* for visitors to San Francisco as a ride on the cable cars or a visit to the Cliff House. And ever since its opening in 1908, Muir Woods, nestled at the foot of the mountain, has been a nationally known attraction, with nowadays more than a million visitors each year.[2]

It is a small wonder therefore that many writers, the famous and not-so-famous, have celebrated the mountain's charms. Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1894), though only briefly in the Bay Area, was much impressed with its romantic beauty. On his first arrival, in August 1879, after leaving the transcontinental train in Oakland, he came across to San Francisco in the early morning on the ferry. Later, in the *Amateur Immigrant,* he described his impression of the scene:

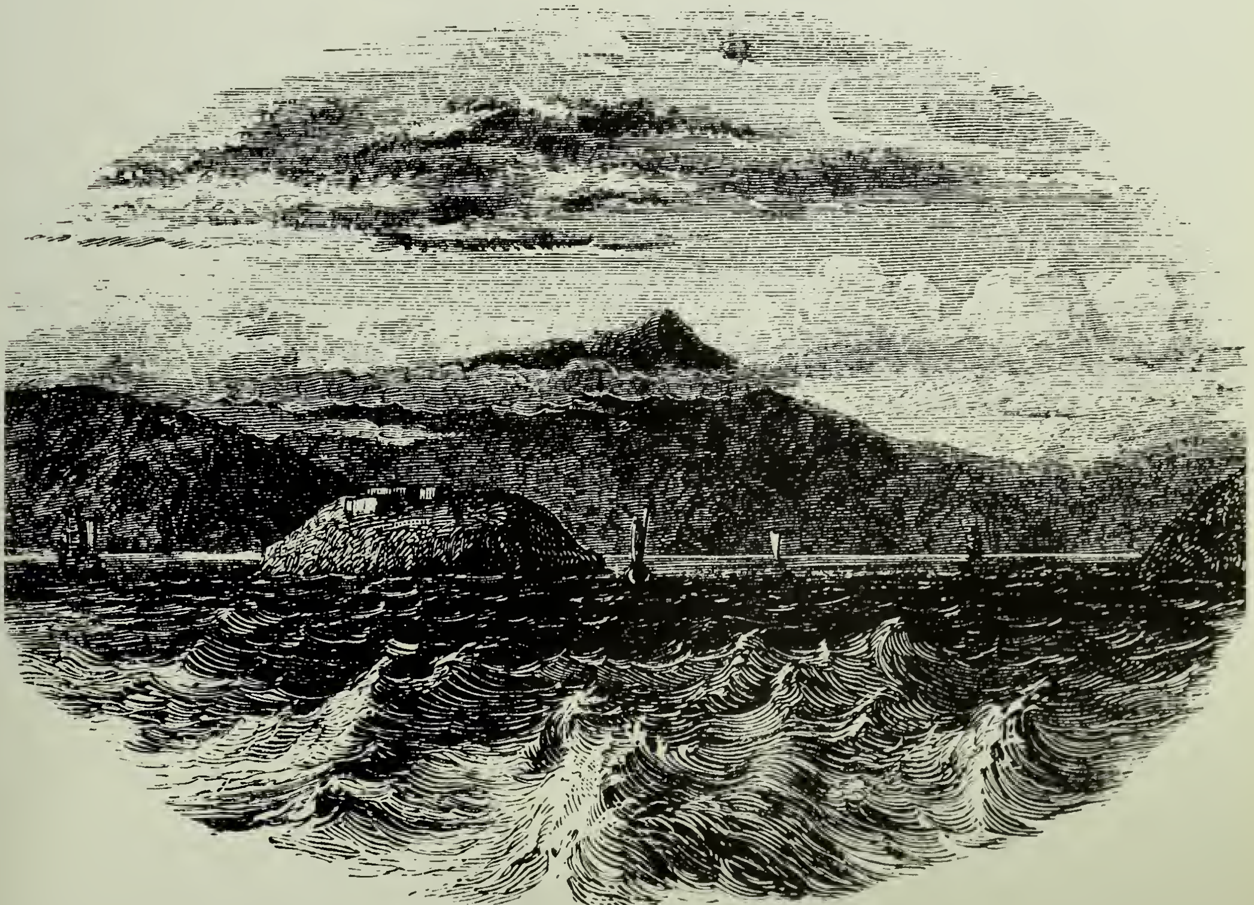
> A spot of cloudy gold lit first upon the head of Tamalpais, and then widened downward on its shapely shoulder; the air seemed to awaken, and began to sparkle; and suddenly

---

Dr. Lincoln Fairley, originally a New Englander, was trained as an economist and until retirement, has always been immersed in issues of labor relations, as student, teacher, researcher, economist for international unions, author, and finally as arbitrator. He is chairman of the Tamalpais History Project and is writing a book on the history of Mt. Tamalpais, of which the present article is designed to be the opening chapter.

Lincoln Fairley

With Mount Tamalpais



Mt. Tamalpais peeks through the clouds in this illustration for the poem "Tamalpais" from Poems *by Charles Warren Stoddard (San Francisco: A. Roman and Co., 1867).*

Robert Louis Stevenson aboard the Casco, *which he chartered to take him to the South Seas. Taken in 1888, the photograph shows Stevenson standing at the far right.*

"The tall hills Titan discovered," and the city of San Francisco, and the bay of gold and corn, were lit from end to end with summer daylight.[3]

In the *Silverado Squatters,* after living for a time on Mt. Saint Helena, he wrote of seeing Mt. Tamalpais from a Vallejo hill:

> More of the bay became apparent, and soon the blue peak of Tamalpais rose above the green level of the island opposite.

And in the same essay:

> For Tamalpais stands sentry, like a lighthouse, over the Golden Gate, between the bay and the open ocean, and looks down indifferently on both.[4]

Stevenson used other descriptions: "Tamalpais, a mountain of memorable figure, springing direct from the sea level, over-plumbs the narrow entrance from the north."[5] Again, he pays the Mountain perhaps his finest compliment, comparing it to a scene in his beloved Edinburgh: ". . . and the fine bulk of Tamalpais looking down on San Francisco, like Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh."[6]

No other natural feature of the Bay area made such an impression on Stevenson during his very brief visits here. He found Tamalpais a happy contrast to San Francisco itself. Describing Telegraph and Russian Hills, he says:

> Everywhere the same tumble-down decay and sloppy progress, new things yet unmade, old things tottering to their fall; everywhere the same out-at-elbows many-nationed loungers at dim, irregular grog-shops; everywhere the same sea-air and isleted[7] sea-prospect; and for a last and more romantic note, you have on the one hand Tamalpais standing high in the blue air, and on the other the tail of that long alignment of three-masted, full-rigged, deep-sea ships that make a forest of spars along the eastern front of San Francisco.[8]

Several years later he came through San Francisco on his way to the South Seas. Before setting sail on the *Casco* he wrote: "Though the other states were to put all their dollars together, they could not manufacture a Tamalpais."[9] And still later, when writing *The Wrecker,* he had his hero, Loudon Dodd, visit San Francisco and report: "I was a frequent wanderer on North Beach, gazing at the straits, and the huge Cape-Horners creeping out to sea, and imminent Tamalpais."[10]

Though Stevenson was charmed by Mt. Tamalpais, he never climbed it, so far as the records show. The first writer known to have done so was Edward Rowland Sill (1841-1887), whose long poem "The Hermitage" was inspired by his camping on the mountain in the spring of 1862, well before Stevenson's visits to San Francisco. Harold French, himself one of the early hikers on Mt. Tamalpais (his first ascent was on May Day, 1892) and the founder of one of the best known hiking clubs, the Contra Costa Hills Club, wrote about Sill:

> First of the Tamalpais pioneers who opened the eyes of the world to the Sleeping Lady's ineffable fascination, was a young poet of but twenty-two, Edward Rowland Sill. In the summer of sixty-two, he camped for a month under a great oak above Laurel Dell, hard by the lone dogwood tree. Five years later, his first book of poems, "The Hermitage," heralds Mount Tamalpais as one of the newly-discovered pleasure places of California.[11]

As "The Hermitage" tells the story, Sill built himself a hut and lived there alone. The poem is much too long to quote in full (40 pages), but a few lines follow:

See: I am come to live alone with thee.
But I come with my life almost untried
Teach me thy wisdom; let me learn the flowers,
And know the rocks and trees.

About his hut, he wrote:

Against the huge trunk of a storm snapped tree,
I've built of saplings and long limbs a hut.
Thatched with thick-spreading palms of pine,
And tangled over by a wandering vine,

(The Mountain had failed to teach Sill that there are

no native pines on it, so his thatch was either fir or redwood. Hopefully the "wandering vine" was not poison oak.)

The only specific reference to Mt. Tamalpais is in these lines:

I sat last night on yonder ridge of rocks
To see the sun set over Tamalpais,
Whose tinted peak, suffused with rosy mist,
Blended the colors of the sea and sky
And made the mountain one great amethyst
Hanging against the sunset.[12]

Sill was among the first of a coteric of writers who contributed to the burst of literary activity which Franklin Walker describes in *San Francisco's Literary Frontier.*[13] These included Mark Twain and such well-known writers as Bret Harte and Ambrose Bierce. Other poets, besides Sill, were Charles Warren Stoddard (1843-1923), Ina Coolbrith (1841-1928) and Daniel O'Connell (1848-1899), who had large followings in their day, but have now been largely forgotten.

All these writers, with the exception of Mark Twain, have left some record that they, in Harold French's phrase, were touched by the Mountain's "ineffable fascination." Stoddard's first book of poems actually predated Sill's, coming out in 1867. His "Tamalpais," was illustrated with a woodcut by William Keith, who subsequently became one of the best known painters of California landscapes, including a number of Tamalpais.[14]

Stoddard wrote another "Tamalpais" poem that catches some of the aura that the poets loved. This is

Joaquin Miller (1841-1913) together with Ina Coolbrith gathered laurel boughs on Mt. Tamalpais which he took to England to place on the grave of Lord Byron.

the concluding stanza:

Broad banners of mist thread through the gate,
  And gather about him cold as a shroud;
But little he cares, for his bare hoary pate
  Is capped with the sunlight over the cloud.
Brave Tamalpais! he looks so grand,
  Bluffing the oceans off, guarding the land.[15]

Elsewhere, in prose, Stoddard again dwells on the fog. "Sailing into the adjacent summer, —summer is intermittent in the green city of the West,—we passed into the shadow of Mt. Tamalpais, the great landmark of the coast. The admirable outline of the mountain, however, was partially obscured by the fog, already massing on its slopes."[16] Anyone who has sailed on San Francisco Bay will remember similar transitions from "summer" to chill though, begging the poet's pardon, one may have trouble getting into the mountain's shadow because it is north of the bay.

It was a close friend of Stoddard's, Ina Coolbrith, who made the greatest impression on their contemporaries. Though few remember her or her poetry, she lived to achieve recognition as Poet Laureate of California. The laurel crown was conferred by President Benjamin Ide Wheeler of the University of California on June 29, 1915, toward the end of her long life.[17] But this was only the culmination of earlier honors. An "Ina Coolbrith Day" had been held in her honor in 1907, when she was referred to as the "Sweet Singer of the Golden Gate."[18] On another occasion, at a testimonial by the Bohemian Club (of which she was only an associate member because women were not admitted to full membership), her friend Daniel O'Connell, himself a poet and an active Club member, read a poem that he addressed to her, in which he called her

A sweet and true interpreter
Stream, wood, and sea have found in her
We honor now . . . [19]

Coolbrith, Stoddard and Bret Harte together were known as the "Golden Gate Trinity" or, in less distinguished language, the "Bohemians." Samuel Dickson in *Tales of San Francisco,* wrote of them: "We . . . know that at almost any hour of the day or night you were likely to find the three of them seated on the floor of Ina's little Russian Hill house, drinking coffee and reading poetry, especially the poetry of the one poet that Ina adored above all the others—Lord Byron.[20] And Dickson adds: "We know that day after day they were seen hiking the trails of Mount Tamalpais and Muir Woods, or drinking wine in little shops in Sausalito."[21]

Unlike Stoddard, Bret Harte has left no poems about the mountain, but Coolbrith wrote several.

Ina Coolbrith as a young woman. She wrote several poems about Mt. Tamalpais, among which the best known is "California." It was first published in 1871 and later appeared in the 1895 volume Songs From the Golden Gate.

1803
EMERSON
1903

Best known is "California" (1871), later published in *Songs from the Golden Gate* in 1895. In this she refers twice to Mt. Tamalpais, in one place recalling the "faint smell/of laurel up the slopes of Tamalpais," and then in the last stanza:

Was it wind, or the soft sigh of leaves,
Or sound of singing waters? Lo, I looked
And saw the silvery ripples of the brook,
The fruit upon the hills, the waving trees,
And mellow fields of harvest; saw the Gate
Burn in the sunset; the thin thread of mist
Creep white across the Saucelito hills; [an early spelling]
Till the day darkened down the ocean rim,
The sunset purple slipped from Tamalpais.
And bay and sky were bright with sudden stars.[22]

This poem, "California," Coolbrith read on Mount Tamalpais itself in 1896. She had given a paper at a convention of the Pacific Coast Women's Press Association, after which they all took "the train to the top of Mt. Tamalpais for an outing in the mild autumn sunshine." There, she read "California."[23]

Out of Coolbrith's love of Tamalpais and her reverence for Byron's poetry grew a charming episode. Coolbrith and her friend Joaquin Miller (1841–1913), also an admirer of Byron's poetry, were outraged to hear that Byron's grave at the old Norman church at Hucknall Torkard (England) was neglected and overgrown with weeds. Miller, who had not yet made his mark as a writer, planned to barnstorm England. The day before he left, they decided to do something to honor Byron. Together, they took the ferry to Sausalito, climbed up the slope of Mt. Tamalpais, and brought back some laurel boughs. That evening she wove a wreath out of the laurel and wrote a poem. These she entrusted to Miller to take with him to England in August of 1874. As she wrote much later:

> I wrote my "With a Wreath of Laurel" and made a wreath of laurel which I sent by Joaquin to the poet's grave in Hucknall Torkard Church. Joaquin faithfully deposited it there, but some enemies of Byron objected; his friends took it up and the dispute grew violent. The King of

A plaque to Ralph Waldo Emerson was dedicated in Muir Woods on May 25, 1903. It is attached to a large redwood tree.

The naturalist John Muir recalled: "I used to run out on short excursions to Mount Tamalpais, and I always brought back a lot of flowers. . . ."

> Greece took up the fight, added *another* wreath, and placed both under glass to preserve them—and attention being called to the ruinous condition of the church which was almost falling down, Byron's adherents caused it to be *restored,* and it is now in splendid condition. A fund is being raised to *keep it so.* All this from my little wreath.[24] [Emphasis is Ina Coolbrith's.]

Ambrose Bierce was another of Coolbrith's friends. Troubled by asthma attacks in San Francisco, he went for relief to San Rafael. There, his biographer, Carey McWilliams, reports: "They (he and his future wife) had a group of friends that went on boating and picnicking expeditions, among whom were Ina Coolbrith and Charles Warren Stoddard."[25] McWilliams does not say whether any of these picnics were on Mount Tamalpais, but a few years later, in 1875, after Bierce went to live in San Rafael, the mountain became one of his objectives: "He could tramp the brown hillsides with their evenly spaced clusters of green, umbrella-like trees. He took long walks up Mt. Tamalpais where the sun burned down upon the slanting hillsides with warming indolence."[26]

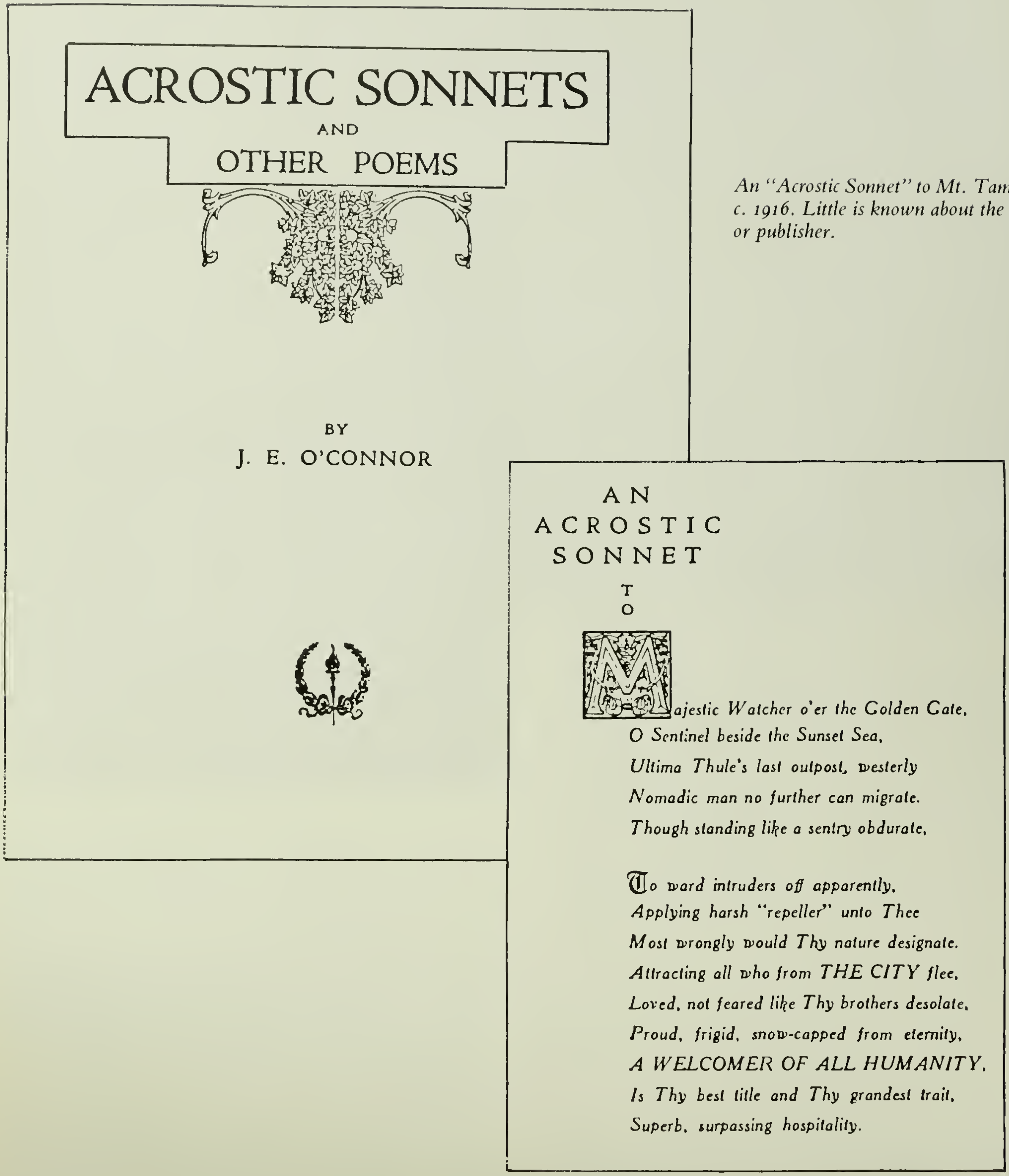
Clarence Urmy (1858-1923), another of this same coterie, has left a poem "As I Came Down Mt. Tamalpais" which has been referred to as "perhaps the most famous of the lyrics inspired by its mighty crest."[27] As the poem itself indicates, Urmy not only wrote about the Mountain, but climbed it. The last stanza follows:

As I came down Mount Tamalpais,
  To West Heaven's gateway opened wide,
And through it, freighted with day-cares,
  The cloud-ships floated with the tide;
Then silently through stilly air,
  Starlight flew down from Paradise,
Folded her silver wings and slept
  Upon the slopes of Tamalpais.

Daniel O'Connell (1849-1899), who had praised Coolbrith at the Bohemian Club testimonial, himself had intimate connections with the mountain though neither his small volume, *Lyrics,* nor his *Songs from Bohemia,* contains any specific reference to it although O'Connell lived in Sausalito.

> With a stout stick, and accompanied by his daughters, he would often be seen sallying forth from his rustic lodge to tramp over the hills and through canyons, exploring the apparently inaccessible, viewing and absorbing the wondrous beauty of woodland freshness, airy heights, and rugged cliffs.[28]

O'Connell died in 1899. He is memorialized by a granite seat located in Sausalito near the corner of Bulkley and Harrison Avenues, only a short distance from the cottage he had occupied.



ACROSTIC SONNETS
AND
OTHER POEMS

BY
J. E. O'CONNOR

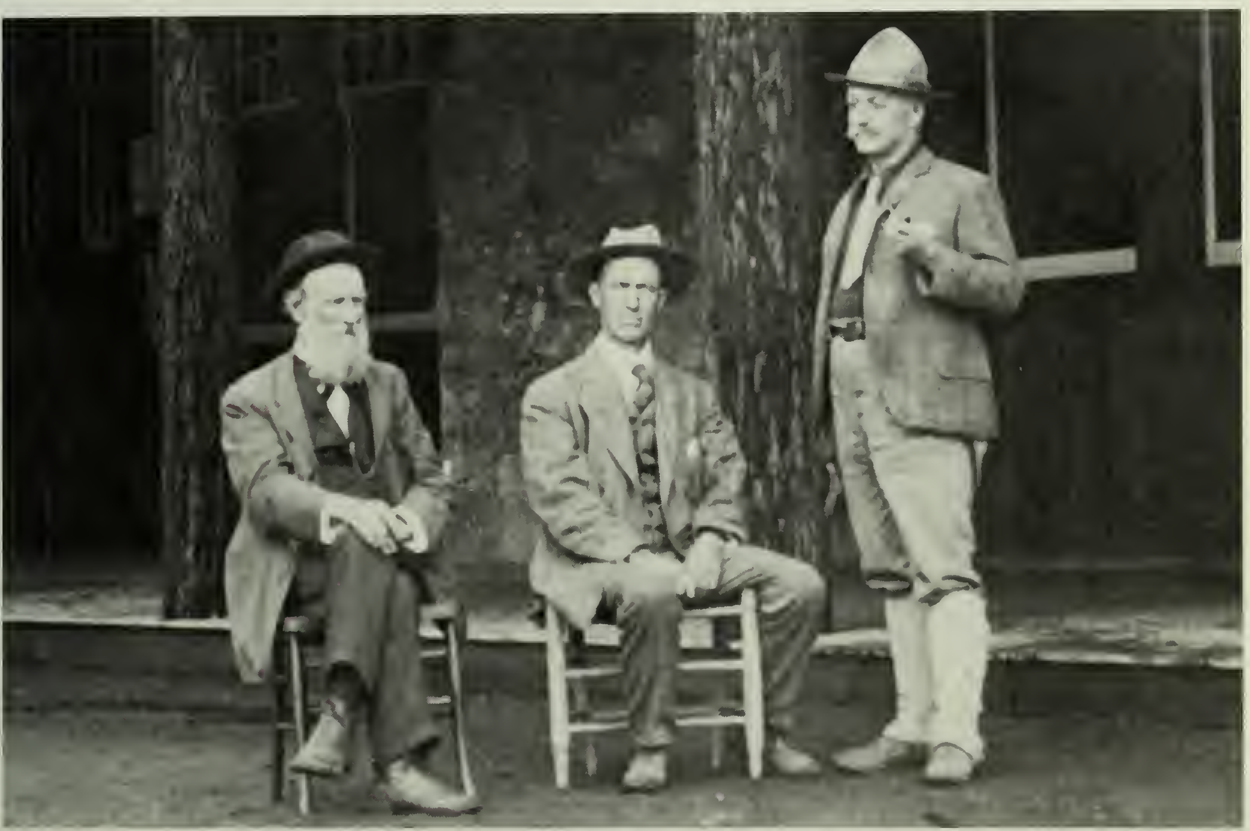
AN
ACROSTIC
SONNET
TO

Majestic Watcher o'er the Golden Gate,
O Sentinel beside the Sunset Sea,
Ultima Thule's last outpost, westerly
Nomadic man no further can migrate.
Though standing like a sentry obdurate,

To ward intruders off apparently,
Applying harsh "repeller" unto Thee
Most wrongly would Thy nature designate.
Attracting all who from THE CITY flee,
Loved, not feared like Thy brothers desolate,
Proud, frigid, snow-capped from eternity,
A WELCOMER OF ALL HUMANITY,
Is Thy best title and Thy grandest trait,
Superb, surpassing hospitality.

An "Acrostic Sonnet" to Mt. Tamalpais, c. 1916. Little is known about the author or publisher.

Left to right: John Muir, William Kent and J. H. Cutter at Muir Woods National Monument, sometime between 1908 and 1913. They are standing in front of the Inn operated by the Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway. Cutter was first president of the Tamalpais Conservation Club (founded in 1912).



Many other poets have responded to the spiritual and aesthetic influence of Mt. Tamalpais, but space prevents quoting their verses.[29] Besides the poets who have written about the Mountain or have been known to climb it, there are many other literary figures whose lives have been connected with it. Among them is Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882). In Muir Woods National Monument is a brass plaque in commemoration of the 100th birthday of the "Sage of Concord." It reads, "1803—Emerson—1903." The plaque is attached to a big redwood which some call the finest in Muir Woods.[30]

The plaque was dedicated on May 25, 1903 before the Monument was created (1908). Bailey Millard, historian of the Bay Region, presided. Present were Jack London, George Sterling (poet), Edward B. Taylor (later mayor of San Francisco), Herman Scheffaur (writer), Austin Lewis (writer), and Mr. and Mrs. Morrison F. Pixley of Corte Madera. (Pixley, as early as 1890, had urged his friend William Kent to buy Redwood Canyon to preserve it as a public park). Messages were read from John Muir and from

Emerson's son, Edward Waldo Emerson.[31] Emerson had been in San Francisco on a lecture tour in April and May, 1871, but there is no record of his going to Redwood Canyon.[32]

This trip to California was the occasion of his visit to Yosemite as reported with some disgust by John Muir. Muir was ecstatic when he heard that Emerson was coming to the Valley. "I was excited as I had never been excited before, and my heart throbbed as if an angel direct from heaven had alighted on these Sierran rocks."[33] He had arranged that they should camp together at Mariposa Grove so Emerson would see the sequoias, but before they reached there it was explained that Emerson was concerned over the night air and its dangers. He persisted despite Muir's pleas. Muir comments: "Sad commentary on culture and the glorious transcendentalism."[34]

John Muir (1838-1914) himself had quite limited connections with Tamalpais, though of course, thanks to William Kent's intercession with President Roosevelt, the National Monument is named for him. In the 1870s, when Muir first came to San Francisco, he was introduced to Ina Coolbrith, Edward Rowland Sill and Charles Warren Stoddard,

M! TAMALPAIS
GRAVITY
7
IS
ALPAIS

all enthusiasts for the mountain. Linnie Marsh Wolfe, his biographer, in reporting this connection, calls these three "the highest names in California's Golden Age of Poetry. Stoddard at once dubbed Muir 'the Faun,' and ever afterward called him that."[35] Wolfe reports that Muir, who was working on a manuscript at the time, found desk work too confining:

> His only recreation was an occasional stroll among the sand dunes where the Golden Gate Park was being erected. One day, observing a slender youth named Enos Mills, bending over a fragrant groundcreeping plant, he fell into conversation with him. From that talk and later ones at the ranch (in Martinez) and on the slopes of Mt. Tamalpais, Enos Mills, one of the greatest of Muir's disciples, received his driving urge to write and work for the preservation of wild nature in the national parks.[36]

In addition to Wolfe's account we have Muir's own fascinating report of his "excursions" to Mount Tamalpais:

> After I had lived many years in the mountains, I spent my first winter in San Francisco [probably c. 1888, immediately following climbs of Mt. Shasta and Mt. Rainier with his friend the painter, William Keith], writing up notes. I used to run out on short excursions to Mount Tamalpais, and I always brought back a lot of flowers—as many as I could carry—and it was most touching to see the quick natural enthusiasm in the hearts of the ragged, neglected, defrauded, dirty little wretches of the Tar Flat water-front of the city I used to pass through on my way home . . . "Please, mister, give me a flower . . ." And when I stopped and distributed the treasures, giving each a lily or daisy or calochortus, anemone, gilia, flowering dogwood, spray of ceanothus, manzanita, or a branch of redwood, the dirty faces glowed with enthusiasm . . . It was a hopeful sign, and made me say: "No matter into what depths of degradation humanity may sink, I will never despair while the lowest love the pure and the beautiful and know it when they see it."[37]

According to the Monument's records, Muir visited Muir Woods in 1909 or 1910, shortly after the Monument was created and only a few years before his death (1914). He is said to have visited both Muir Inn and what is commonly referred to as the Ben Johnson cabin. Muir Inn was built in 1908-1909 at the terminus of the new Muir Woods branch of the Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway, not far from the present Camp Alice Eastwood. The Ben Johnson cabin is often erroneously called the Muir cabin, though it is possible that Muir may have slept there. It got its name from the man who lived in it while serving as caretaker for the grove on behalf of William Kent who owned the property. It has been claimed that of the "famous writers—Joaquin Miller, Mark Twain, Jack London and Robert Louis Stevenson among them," several had stayed at "the old Ben Johnson log cabin in the very heart of the redwoods."[38] Stevenson certainly did not, and there is no record that any of the others did so.

Whether Muir did or not he wrote a tribute to the mountain in a letter dated September 23, 1909: "The whole Tamalpais region is delightful and many times more interesting and instructive than is generally known by those living within an hour or two of it."[39]

The San Francisco novelist, Gertrude Atherton (1857-1948), is the only author who is known to have done some of her writing on Mt. Tamalpais. The following is from her own account of writing a portion of *Tower of Ivory* while staying at the Tavern at the East Peak terminus of the Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railway, probably in 1908:

> Few had ever spent more than a night there, and as I announced my intention of remaining throughout the winter they gave me the one room with a private bath and a stove, as there was no central heating.
>
> The winter storms set in immediately. It stormed for fifty days and fifty nights. I wrote to the accompaniment of a tremendous orchestration of the elements. . . .
>
> But winter turned abruptly into summer . . . . It was so hot that the rattlesnakes woke up from their winter sleep among the rocks and came out into the sun. One even invaded the bar. And people came up every afternoon on the little mountain train to witness the sunrise next

Throngs of people on the Mt. Tamalpais gravity cars.

> morning. I was awakened by "Oh's" and "Ah's" as they hung out of their windows at four a.m. watching a blood-red sun rise above an imponderable sea of white fog that blotted out the valleys, the Bay, and even San Francisco on its hills.[40]

Kathleen Norris (née Thompson) (1880–1966), one of the most prolific and financially successful of novelists, was intimately connected with Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais. She is remembered by many old-time Mill Valley residents and a number of her family, the Thompsons and their children, still live there. There is a small park in Mill Valley which is named for her, on the corner of Molina and Wildomar.

In her autobiographical *Family Gathering,* Mrs. Norris writes of her childhood:

> It was a great adventure, in 1891, for my mother and father to move us all (from San Francisco) to Mill Valley, once the great Throckmorton ranch, recently plotted into building lots scattered on the steep slopes of Tamalpais mountain and on the mountain chain stretching to the east and west to enclose the valley.[41]

Her father's (James A. Thompson) two-acre lot, containing a score of magnificent oaks and redwoods, cost $325. The family acquired a cow, an old horse named Hatrack, and a surrey to go with it. Mill Valley's population, she says, was something like a hundred in the summer and half that in winter.[42] But in the expectation that more people like the Norrises would move to Mill Valley, the San Francisco, Tamalpais and Bolinas Railway had just opened (in 1890) a branch line from Sausalito to Mill Valley.[43]

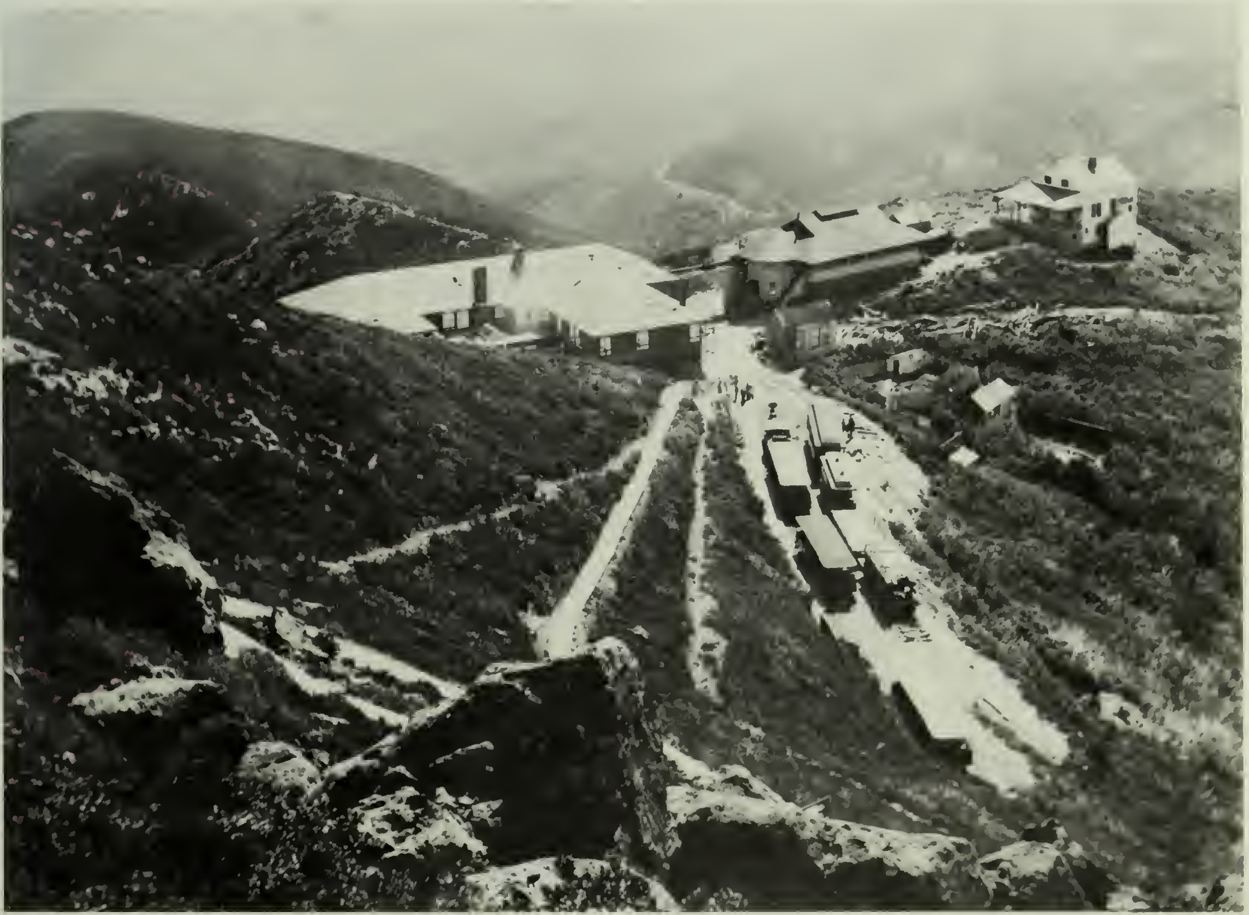
The whole area, Mrs. Norris writes, "was all ours, we ranged free, riding on the milk wagons that came down from the Portugese ranch on the ridge . . .", no doubt the ridge west of Mill Valley, where the Dipsea Trail crosses.[44] Late in life she recalled these experiences: "Here for exquisite years, we ran wild." Mill Valley she described as "a two-pronged canyon running up against the flanks of Mount Tamalpais, heavily and beautifully wooded; one of the exquisite places in the world. In Sicily, in all the beauty spots of the Riviera, I have seen nothing more naturally lovely."[45]

Her father, Mrs. Norris writes, was always "ready with Sunday plans for long walks"—of 10, 12 or even 14 miles—sometimes involving "picnics in Muir Woods over the hill some four miles away."[46] Her father was an active member of the Bohemian Club, where he knew Daniel O'Connell, among others.

The family moved back to San Francisco a few years later, buying a house on Hyde Street, between Union and Filbert, not far, she notes, from the house Stevenson's widow was building on the corner of Hyde and Lombard. From their rear windows they could see "the glorious, ever changing waters of the Bay, with Tamalpais rearing her familiar outline on the north . . ."[47] Very much later, as a widow in her eighties she moved again to San Francisco, living on the slope of Twin Peaks. She wrote: "From my southeast [she must mean northeast] windows I can see the Bay, and the arch of Golden Gate Bridge, and the dear familiar silhouette of Tamalpais mountain for a background against a dove-gray sky."[48]

No account of literary associations with Mt. Tamalpais would be complete without reference to the plays and pageants which have been an almost annual feature of the mountain since the first performance in 1913. Sponsored by the Mountain Play Association, the performances take place in May at a natural amphitheater some 2,000 feet up on the south slope of the mountain. Before the era of the motor car, spectators often numbering in the thousands, made the climb from Mill Valley by foot or rode the Mountain railroad to West Point and walked the final mile to the Mountain Theatre.

The Tavern run by the Mountain Railway at the summit of Mt. Tamalpais.



Nowadays, on the day of the play, one has to contend with a traffic jam and parking problems.

Most popular of all the shows put on over the years has been *Tamalpa,* written by Dan Totheroh for its first production in 1921. As Totheroh explained, the play is based on the popular myth of the Indian maiden: "It is the story of the purple maiden asleep forever on the slopes of the Mountain, her full length figure outlined against the sky."[49] Other plays ranged from Arthur W. Ryder's translation of "Shakuntola" to Joaquin Miller's "Talley Ho" and Lord Dunsany's "The Gods of the Mountain."[50]

The productions have provided a training ground for many aspiring young actors, some of whom have later become well-known. Jules Irving, for example, and his wife, Priscilla Pointer, played in Percy

MacKaye's pageant-play "A Thousand Years Ago," in 1951. And Guy Kibbee, who became famous as a Hollywood screen actor, made his first hit in the title part of "Drake," written for the Mountain Theatre by Garnett Holme in 1925.[51]

During the late 1930s, the Civilian Conservation Corps, one of the most successful of the New Deal's work programs, undertook a massive job to make the theatre "into a structure more comfortable for human use." Following a design by Emerson Knight, a Fellow of the American Society of Architects, the Corps installed forty rows of native stone seat-tiers, making a seating capacity of 5,000. The stage was leveled off and the whole area beautifully landscaped. The site, originally owned by William Kent, became a part of the newly created Mt. Tamalpais State Park in 1936.[52]

Recently, in 1974, the New York-based City Center Joffrey Ballet presented "Sacred Grove on Mountain Tamalpais," staged not on the mountain, but at the San Francisco Opera House under the auspices of the San Francisco Symphony Association. But the mountain played a part in the inspiration. A few years before the production, in 1971, chief choreographer Gerald Arpino and his associate James Howell drove up Mt. Tamalpais and climbed to the top. Arpino is quoted as reporting: "I went to the farthest edge of a great rock and stayed there until the sun set, and the vision became lost in the swirling fog. It was the quietest time I have ever known; a very beautiful experience." This experience was, in part, the origin of the ballet.[53]

Pablo Casals (1876–1973) had a quite different experience when he was climbing down the mountain in 1901. Casals, famous artist though he is, does not qualify as a literary figure, but the story is sufficiently interesting to justify its inclusion. Along with him on what he recalls as "that memorable outing" were Leon Moreau whom he refers to as "a bit of a daredevil, always ready for some new adventure," and Theresa Hermann, who "played the piano and her sister was a violinist." They had climbed to the top and were coming down what was probably the Throckmorton Trail, then as now, steep and hazardous. This is the account as reported to his biographer, Albert E. Kahn:

> In San Francisco I had an experience which not only brought my first American tour to a sudden end but almost ended my career as a cellist. I was enchanted by the city and by the surrounding countryside. And when several young, newly made friends invited me to join them on an expedition across the Bay to climb Mount Tamalpais, I was delighted. I have always loved mountain climbing. We crossed on a ferryboat which was, I think, the most ornate vessel I'd ever seen—a veritable floating castle.
>
> It was when we were making our descent on Mount Tamalpais that the accident occurred. Suddenly one of my companions shouted, "Watch out, Pablo!" I looked up and saw a boulder hurtling down the mountainside directly toward me. I jerked my head aside and was lucky not to be killed. As it was, the boulder hit and smashed my left hand—my fingering hand. My friends were aghast. But when I looked at my mangled bloody fingers, I had a strangely different reaction. My first thought was, "Thank God, I'll never have to play the cello again!" No doubt, a psychoanalyst would give some profound explanation. But the fact is that dedication to one's art does involve a sort of enslavement, and then too, of course, I have always felt such dreadful anxiety before performances.
>
> I remained in San Francisco while Emma Nevada and Moreau continued the tour. The doctors predicted I'd never regain the full use of my hand. But doctors sometimes make mistakes. With constant treatments and exercise, my hand healed completely, after four months, and I started practicing again. I fell in love with San Francisco—who does not?. . . .[54]

When Casals returned to San Francisco nearly sixty years later, in 1960, he recalled:

> Thirty-five years had then elapsed since my last visit to California and sixty years since my first. When Martita and I arrived in Berkeley my mind was full of memories. One

> of the most vivid was the day on Mount Tamalpais which had almost ended my musical career at the age of twenty-four.[55]

The writers' enjoyment of Mount Tamalpais adds a new dimension to one's own. When looking across the bay at the "Sleeping Maiden," it is easy to recall Stevenson's admiration or Kathleen Norris's "dear familiar silhouette of Tamalpais mountain."[56] When standing in the bright sunshine high above the fog, with Diablo and Montara poking up into the sunlight, one can remember Brewer's excitement over the same view. And when overwhelmed by the Muir Wood redwoods, Masefield's living columns come to mind. All lovers of Mt. Tamalpais owe this debt to the literary past.

Beyond this, the mountain itself owes a debt to the writers. The greater awareness of its charm and allure which their works have fostered has helped to stimulate the protective care lavished by hikers and other conservationists without which Mt. Tamalpais would now be another real estate development.

Benjamin Parke Avery, writing in 1878 ecstatically about the scenic charms of Mt. Tamalpais, concluded his essay:

> But the sunset aspects of Tamalpais, from the town [San Francisco], are its peculiar glory. These are so rich and yet so tender, like the verse of Tennyson, that they defy description. . . . No wonder that it is the love of local poets and painters and that enthusiasts like Stoddard and Keith have made it a very mount of inspiration.[57]

Easter sunrise service on Mt. Tamalpais, 1925. The mountain's beauty moved one writer to term it "a very mount of inspiration."

The photograph of Robert Louis Stevenson is courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, San Francisco. Those on pages 88 and 91 were provided by the Muir Wood National Monument. Ina Coolbrith's portrait is from the Bancroft Library. All others are from the CHS Library.

Notes

1. William H. Brewer, *Up and Down California in 1860-1864* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), p. 256. Albert S. Evans, *À La California, Sketches of Life in the Golden State* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1874), p. 144. John Masefield, From a letter quoted without attribution in an article by Aubrey Drury in Edgar M. Kahn, *Tamalpais–Enchanted Mountain* (San Francisco: Roxburghe Club, 1946). Masefield's visit to Muir Woods is noted in the Monument's records.
2. These may seem extravagant statements, but there is no doubt regarding the throngs that went by ferry from San Francisco to Sausalito, by train to Mill Valley and so up the mountain—in the 1920s and 1930s especially. And today Muir Woods National Monument and Mt. Tamalpais State Park each report more than a million visitors per year.
3. James Hart, ed. *From Scotland to Silverado* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 146.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
7. Stevenson clearly means "dotted with islands."
8. Hart, *From Scotland to Silverado*, p. 187.
9. Neill C. Wilson, *Here is the Golden Gate* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1962), p. 213.
10. Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Wrecker*, The Biographical Edition of the works of Robert Louis Stevenson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), p. 157.
11. Harold French, *California Out-of-Doors*, Periodical publication of the Tamalpais Conservation Club, San Francisco, November 1923. The reference to the "Sleeping Lady" is to the legend of the Sleeping Indian Maiden. Looking at the Tamalpais range from the south, some see a resemblance to a recumbent human form.

    The lone dogwood tree, celebrated by Alice Eastwood, the famous botanist, is long since gone, though its location is known. A later poet, Grace S. Douglas, in her poem, *Dogwood in Laurel Dell*, asks "Who Brought it Here?" and answers:

    "I like to think that it was rooted here
    "By him, the poet, who remained a space
    "To cleanse his heart in silence of the trees
    "And smooth care-furrows from his lifted face."

    California Out-of-Doors, April 1950.
12. Edward Rowland Sill, *The Hermitage and Other Poems* (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft & Co., 1868), The quoted lines are from pp. 12, 17 & 41.
13. Franklin Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939), Walker says: "San Francisco boasted that in the mid-fifties it published more newspapers than London, that in its first decade it published more books than all the rest of the United States west of the Mississippi." p. 14.
14. Charles Warren Stoddard, *Poems*, (San Francisco: A Roman, 1897). Keith made a woodcut for each of the poems.
15. Originally published in *The Calfornian*, reproduced in full in: Edgar M. Kahn, *Tamalpais–Enchanted Mountain*, (San Francisco: Roxburghe Club, 1946), p. 11.
16. Charles Warren Stoddard, *In the Footprints of the Padres*, New and enlarged edition, (San Francisco: A. M. Robertson, 1912), pp. 206-7.
17. Joseph DeWitt Rhodehamel and Raymund Francis Wood, *Ina Coolbrith, Librarian and Laureate of California* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1973), pp. 310-12.
18. *Overland Monthly*, 1907, p. 339.
19. Daniel O'Connell, *Lyrics*, (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1881). Coolbrith edited his *Songs from Bohemia* (San Francisco: G. M. Robertson, 1900).
20. Samuel Dickson, *Tales of San Francisco* (Palo Alto.: Stanford University Press, 1957), p. 168.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
22. Ina Coolbrith, *Songs from the Golden Gate* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1895), p. 1.
23. Rhodehamel, *Ina Coolbrith*, pp. 228 and 232. The train referred to was the famous scenic railroad that ran up the mountain from Mill Valley to the East Peak, 1896 to 1930.
24. Amelia Ransome Neville, *The Fantastic City*, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932), p. 106. See also Walker, *Literary Frontier*, p. 278. Accounts of this episode differ in detail but there seems to be no doubt that it occurred and the evidence supports the version given here, since we know the date of Coolbrith's poem. Dickson, however, *Tales of San Francisco*, describes it as taking place much later when Coolbrith was "growing old" and Miller was "old and white-haired." And he says Coolbrith went alone to collect the laurel. Dickson also claims that as a result of the publicity, Byron's remains were removed to Westminster Abbey where they were buried "with pomp and ceremony." Dickson, p. 171. Still another account appears in "Memoirs" in Coolbrith's *Wings of Sunset*, published in 1929, a year after her death. O. W. Frost, Miller's biographer, tells the story this way: "At the church of Hucknoll Torkard, Miller made a bargain with the sexton who was to see that the wreath was kept on Byron's tomb and for his pains was to receive a

sovereign each year." But the vicar objected and an appeal was made to the Bishop of Norwich, who promptly "sent to the King of Greece for another laurel wreath and so the two hung side by side above the bust of Byron . . . ." Between the King and the Bishop of Norwich the money poured in and "the church was rebuilt." Frost, in *Joaquin Miller*, Twayne Publishers Inc., 1967, pp. 62 and 63, is quoting from "California's Fair Poet," *The San Francisco Call*, August 21, 1892, p. 14.

25. Carey McWilliams, *Ambrose Bierce; a Biography* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon, Reprint 1967), p. 91.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22.

27. In *Motorland*, the publication of the California Automobile Association. The poem itself will be found in Urmy's *A Vintage of Verse*, William Doxey, (San Francisco, 1897), p. 35.

28. Helen Bingham, *In Tamalpais Land*, (San Francisco: Calkins, 1906), pp. 10 and 11.

29. Among others, George Sterling, "Beneath the Redwoods," *House of Orchids*, (San Francisco, A. M. Robertson, 1911), p. 59; Ruth Price, "To Tamalpais," *Overland Monthly*, August 1907, p. 133; unsigned, "Tamalpais," *Ibid*, 1911, vol. 58, p. 260; William Nauns Ricks, "Tamalpais," *Ibid.*, Sept. 1915, p. 197; Kate L. Whitten, "Tamalpais," *Ibid.*, Sept., 1916, p. 256; Cristel Hastings, "Tamalpais," 1922, source not known. The Hastings poem is headed with a woodcut of the mountain. Besides these, the publications of the Tamalpais Conservation Club and of the California Alpine Club contain many more.

30. The plaque is on what is now the back side of a tree. It cannot be seen from the walkway.

31. The occasion is described in the *Historical Chronology of Muir Woods and Vicinity*, compiled by Wes Hildreth, 1966. The *Chronology* is in the files at Muir Woods National Monument.

32. *California Historical Society Quarterly*. March 1941, p. 1. While Emerson was in the area he visited Yosemite, a visit recorded by John Muir, and also Lake Tahoe.

33. William Frederick Bade, *The Life and Letters of John Muir*, Vol. I, p. 253.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

35. Linnie Marsh Wolfe, *Son of the Wilderness, The Life of John Muir*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), p. 164.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 244. James Mitchell Clarke in his later biography, *The Life and Adventures of John Muir*, The Word Shop Publications, San Diego, 1979, p. 171, speaks of Muir's "days of escape" when he visited the "forests of Coast Redwoods across the Golden Gate." For information on Enos Mills, see Hildegarde Hawthorne and Esther Burnell Mills, *Enos Mills of the Rockies*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935).

37. Edwin Way Teale, *The Wilderness World of John Muir*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1954), pp. 311-12.

38. Aubrey Drury, *California, An Intimate Guide*, (New York & London, Harper and Bros., Revised edition, 1917), p. 314. The cabin was located in the redwoods near the junction of the Ben Johnson and Bootjack trails. Though it is no longer standing, photographs of it are available.

39. Quoted by Harold French, *California Out-of-Doors*, T.C.C., September, 1936, but French gives no source.

40. Gertrude Atherton, *Adventures of a Novelist*. (New York: Liveright, Inc., 1932) pp. 44-46. Mrs. Atherton gives no date for this episode but internal evidence indicates 1908 as the likely year.

41. Norris, *Family Gathering*, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1959), p. 9.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

43. Fred A. Stindt, *The Northwestern Pacific Railroad* (Redwood City: Published by Fred A. Stindt, 3rd edition, 1978), p. 28.

44. Norris, *Family Gathering*, p. 28.

45. Kathleen Norris, *Noon, An Autobiographical Sketch*, (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1925), p. 8.

46. Norris, *Family Gathering*, p. 10 and *Noon*, p. 12.

47. Norris, *Family Gathering*, p. 41.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 324.

49. Quoted by Mrs. D. E. F. Easton in an article "The Mountain Play" in *Trails*, 1921, p. 5. *Trails* is the official publication of the California Alpine Club.

50. Henry H. Hart, "The Mountain Theatre" in Kahn, *Enchanted Mountain*, p. 55. This article reviews the history of the theatre up to World War II when plays were temporarily discontinued because the military took over the top of the mountain.

51. *Ibid.*, and also the brochure put out by the Mountain Play Association, *The Mountain Play*, describing the year 1951. The brochure reviews all the productions from 1913 to 1970 when it was published.

52. For an account of the Theatre's reconstruction, see Emerson Knight, "Mountain Theatre on Mount Tamalpais," *Landscape Architecture*, October, 1949, pp. 5-7.

53. The California premiere of the ballet took place in May, 1973 and it was shown again the following May in the San Francisco Opera House. Information about the ballet is from the 1974 Program and from a brochure, "Migdoll Photographs the Joffrey," undated. The quotation is from the brochure, p. 60.

54. Albert E. Kahn, *Joys and Sorrows; Reflections by Pablo Casals as Told to Albert E. Kahn* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), p. 105.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

56. Kathleen Norris, *Family Gathering*, p. 324.

57. Benjamin Parke Avery, *California Pictures in Prose and Verse* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1878). The omission in this quotation is the curious sentence: "A very dying dolphin of mountains is Tamalpais.'"

Following opposition from environmentalists to Walt Disney Productions' planned resort at Mineral King, this site, at Independence Lake, was suggested as an alternative by the U.S. Forest Service.

Douglas H. Strong

Disney's Independence Lake Project

A CASE STUDY OF CALIFORNIA'S ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEW PROCESS

When Walt Disney Productions encountered stiff opposition from environmentalists to its proposal for a year-round resort at Mineral King in the southern Sierra Nevada, the corporation began searching for a new site.[1] By 1972 Disney had found what it wanted: a beautiful mountain lake north of the Lake Tahoe Basin where privately owned land could be developed without affecting any wilderness areas. The site was Independence Lake.[2] Then, in 1978, after reportedly spending over $2 million on intensive planning, the Disney corporation suddenly withdrew its application for governmental permission to construct the resort. A study of the events leading to Disney's precipitate action as well as the responses to it constitutes a case study of the environmental review process in California.

The purpose of the process is to assure that decisions on projects with significant environmental impact are made only after public officials and the general public are adequately informed. As part of this process, the public and various agencies provide information and criticism to those agencies with authority to grant approval for development projects. This procedure has been formalized in the environmental impact report (EIR) wherein a draft report is written and circulated for public comment and then a final report is completed before public officials reach a decision. The intent of the EIR process is: "to enable public agencies to evaluate a project to determine whether it may have a significant effect on the environment, to examine and initiate methods of reducing adverse impacts, and to consider alternatives to the project as proposed."[3] The final EIR does not force or determine the ultimate approval or disapproval of the proposed project; rather, by the accumulation of the best knowledge on the subject, the report is intended to

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assure an informed decision.

The requirement for an EIR was established under the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) of 1970, modeled largely after the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969. Paralleling the environmental impact statement (EIS) for major federal action significantly affecting the quality of the environment, CEQA requires an EIR for similar state action. Under the *Mammoth* decision of the California Supreme Court, the requirement for an EIR was extended to private developments that required a government permit. In decisions which involve both federal and state agencies, such as Disney's proposed resort at Independence Lake, the environmental review process requires both an EIR and EIS.

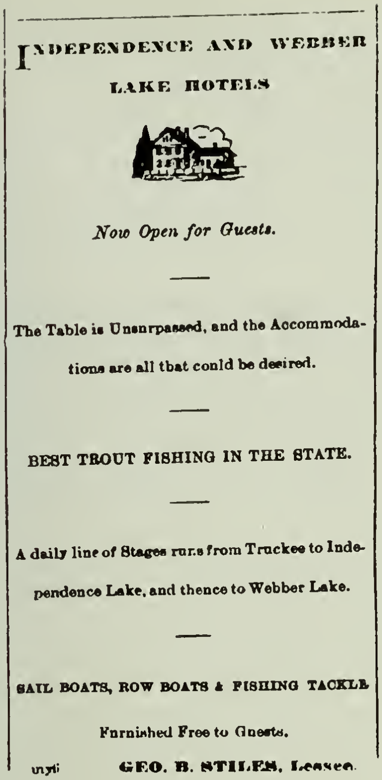
In the late 1960s the United States Forest Service cited the area around Mount Lola, a 9143-foot peak at the head of Independence Lake, as one of the principal sites in California for possible winter recreational development on national forest land. When Disney and Forest Service officials met in San Francisco on December 31, 1971, to discuss problems at Mineral King, the Forest Service suggested four alternative sites, including the Independence Lake-Mount Lola area.[4]

Since Disney expected indefinite delays with its proposed Mineral King project, and since Regional Forester Doug Leisz offered help in expediting any necessary land exchanges, Disney responded positively to the suggestion.[5] Following an on-site inspection of Independence Lake, Disney contacted the Southern Pacific Land Company and the Sierra Pacific Power Company, the vicinity's two major owners of private property. In March 1973, the Southern Pacific made the first of several land exchange offers to the Forest Service in order to consolidate landholdings.[6] This would allow proposed ski lifts and runs to be located on private property. Then in July, 1974, Disney announced to the Sierra County Board of Supervisors its intention to pursue a joint venture with the Southern Pacific and Sierra Pacific companies as limited partners; they would study the feasibility of a family-type, year-round "destination resort" at Independence Lake.[7]

Disney's proposal, however, encountered immediate difficulties. In April of that year, when Bob Hicks, Disney's official in charge of the project, had asked the Forest Service for a special-use permit that would allow the corporation to utilize federal land in the Mount Lola area, his request had been denied pending completion of a Forest Service land-use study of the area.[8] Despite the possibility that Forest Service land might not be available for use or exchange, WED Enterprises, a division of Walt Disney Productions, began planning the project. Hicks hoped construction could begin in 1975 or 1976 and the resort could open to the public by 1978.[9]

Disney's proposal for a resort expanded as time passed, and estimated costs ultimately reached $100 million.[10] Plans called eventually for 14 ski lifts to serve 10,000 people daily, overnight accommodations for 2900, restaurant seats for 1600, nine merchandise stores, and 55,000 square feet of service area in the village area alone. Recreational facilities were to include a large theater-conference area, an ice rink, a spa and pool, twelve tennis courts, several fishing lakes, an equestrian center, year-round "swimming experience," snowmobiles, a car-care center, and boats and equipment.[11] The Disney corporation anticipated the use of these facilities by more than one million people annually, served by more than 1000 employees.[12]

Following an on-site inspection, Thomas L. Kimball, executive director of the National Wildlife Federation and a member of the Disney Conservation Advisory Committee, praised the proposed



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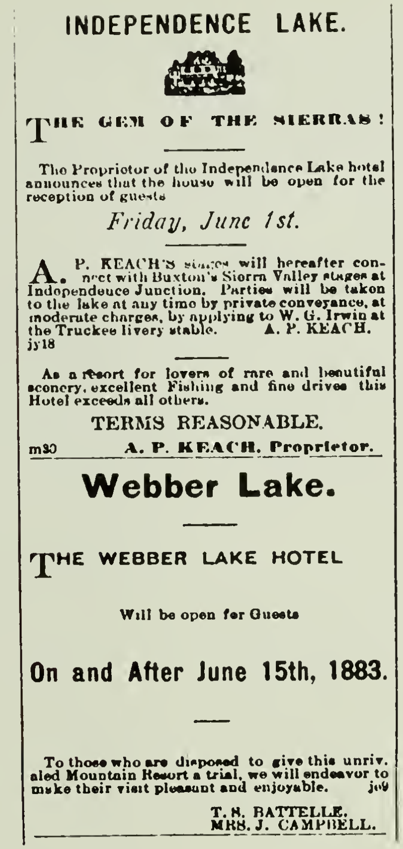

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jy18

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TERMS REASONABLE.

m30 **A. P. KEACH, Proprietor.**

Webber Lake.

THE WEBBER LAKE HOTEL

Will be open for Guests

On and After June 15th, 1883.

To those who are disposed to give this unrivaled Mountain Resort a trial, we will endeavor to make their visit pleasant and enjoyable. je9

T. S. BATTELLE.
MRS. J. CAMPBELL.

Independence and Weber Lakes were advertised in 1880s editions of the Truckee Republican *as prime resort areas with the "best trout fishing in the state."*

development. He noted that the project was well outside the Lake Tahoe Basin, an area already suffering from overdevelopment. Disney proponents argued that the Independence Lake resort would relieve the pressure for creation of new recreational facilities at Tahoe. Kimball concluded: "If Disney continues its usual fine job in preventing damage to wildlife values and scenic values, this proposed facility for outdoor education as well as recreation opportunities will be a tremendous asset to the community and the nation."[13]

Despite promises to local residents of substantial tax and employment benefits as part of an active public-relations campaign by Disney, many withheld judgment of the project. They wished to know more about what effect a major resort would have upon their quiet, rural way of life. An editorial in the Reno *Nevada State Journal* questioned whether the "plastic" fantasy world of a Disneyland or Disney World, however clean or orderly, was suited to a mountain environment. As the editorial put it: "The question is whether an organization with their record should be the one to develop a large and key segment of the Sierra, a development which may set the tone for future use of this ecologically fragile area."[14]

By summer 1975, after a year of preliminary environmental and land-use studies by Disney, the corporation announced its decision to proceed with the proposed project, utilizing some 10,000 acres of land privately owned by its limited partners. E. Cardon Walker, president of Walt Disney Productions, said that data were being gathered for the environmental impact report, which would have to be prepared and completed by county, state, and federal officials and accepted by them before construction could begin. Walker stated, "We hope this EIR will be ready by the end of 1975." He expected that the resort could open in the winter of

The Forest Service's land-use plan received widespread response, including 600 letters and several petitions.

1978 if no obstacles or delays were encountered.[15]

A Disney task force of more than twenty-five people and firms carried out extensive studies, both to determine the feasibility of the project and to establish a sound base for subsequent master planning. The task force maintained contact and exchanged data with the Forest Service, which was continuing its own study of the land-use capability of the entire Little Truckee River Basin, in which Independence Lake is situated.[16]

In November 1975, however, Hicks announced to the Sierra County Planning Commission that Disney was suspending its planning efforts until the Forest Service finalized its land-use plan and completed a land exchange with the Southern Pacific Land Company. As Hicks explained: "Since the inception of planning in 1974, we have felt that in order to develop the best possible project, we would need to use for access and recreational purposes Forest Service lands adjacent to the private lands of our partners."[17]

In the same month, the Forest Service informed Disney that the service's land use plan probably would be completed by the end of May, 1976. If the Forest Service decided to proceed with a land exchange, an environmental impact statement on the exchange then would be prepared and finalized early in 1977. The agency warned, however, that the probable date of an actual land exchange could not be expected before late 1978 or early 1979.[18]

This news disturbed Disney officials who had tried to expedite consideration and approval of its project. To the corporation it seemed as if the Forest Service had changed the rules and now insisted on new time-consuming studies. Disney wanted a definite timetable so it could proceed with its plans in an orderly fashion. Ronald Cayo, Disney vice-president for business affairs, recommended that the Forest Service work concurrently rather than consecutively on its land use study and the environmental statement on the land exchange.[19] The Forest Service, however, made clear its unwillingness to proceed until completion of its land use study. As Forest Service Chief John McGuire informed Disney President Walker, "A determination must be made that the proposal [for a land exchange] is in the public interest and meets the requirements of the exchange authority."[20]

The Forest Service had long believed the Mount Lola area to have a winter sports potential equal to that of Squaw Valley, Heavenly Valley, or Mammoth Mountain. However, the service had deferred action on requests by private companies to develop the area pending completion of its study. On May 28, 1976 when the Forest Service issued its environmental statement on its proposed Truckee-Little Truckee rivers land-use plan, it announced its goal of managing the national forest land near Mount Lola for "year-long recreation uses including winter sports." At the same time, however, the service called Disney's proposed development the "single most controversial issue within the planning unit."[21]

Under Forest Service policy, government land ordinarily was retained in public ownership when a specific public need existed, such as the need for a recreation area.[22] The Forest Service, furthermore, informed Disney and its partners that for Forest Service plans which included winter-sports development, NEPA regulations required an environmental impact statement of specific projects proposed. As the service explained: "In analyzing the planning unit, the information about the Mt. Lola area was gathered only for the purpose of considering which lands to use for a particular activity and not for evaluating specific proposals."[23]

More information was needed on the secondary social, economic, and environmental effects of the resort before the Forest Service could reach a decision on it. Studying only the site of the proposed resort was insufficient; the impact on the surrounding region had to be considered. For example, the Forest Service wondered what additional traffic would be generated on Interstate 80 in the vicinity of Truckee, a stretch of highway already expected to be overcrowded by 1990 even without the Disney project. Additional potential problems included air and water quality, water rights, and public services. The impact on wildlife, including a pure strain of Lahontan cutthroat trout listed as an endangered species, had to be considered. The project Disney had proposed required development of an environmental impact statement and, subsequently, of mitigation measures should environmental problems have come to light. Since the project would be denied if such problems were so severe that mitigation measures proved unacceptable, the Forest Service could make no commitment to Disney before the EIS process was complete.[24]

The Forest Service's land-use plan received widespread response, including 600 letters and several petitions. Although the service's plan itself gained widespread praise, many more respondents opposed the Disney project than favored it. California Resources Secretary Claire T. Dedrick reflected the view of many people when she announced that the state would reserve judgment on the Disney project until completion by the Forest Service of an environmental impact statement devoted specifically to the Mount Lola-Independence Lake area.[25]

More information was needed on the secondary social, economic, and environmental effects of the resort . . .

The immediate concern of Disney and its partners continued to be the proposed land exchange with the Forest Service. In the Fall 1976, the Southern Pacific Land Company requested an exchange of 2460 acres—the land necessary for all important facilities to be constructed on private property.[26] In return the Southern Pacific Land Company offered 12,415 acres of land in the nearby Castle Peaks area, including portions of the Pacific Crest Trail.

In a September news release issued by Disney, the corporation reaffirmed its commitment to the Independence Lake project, but company officials expressed concern and dismay over the Forest Service's delay in reviewing the proposed project and completing a land exchange.[27] The extended time required for completion of the service's study precluded Disney's hope of beginning construction by the summer of 1977. Hicks claimed that each year of delay cost the region around Independence Lake hundreds of new jobs as well as a million dollars in tax revenue.

On November 11, 1976, Regional Forester Leisz sent a letter of guarded encouragement to Walt Disney Productions.[28] After stating that the Forest Service was "impressed" with Disney's planning effort and the opportunity it created for year-round

An early view of the Independence Lake Hotel shows guests and a number of fishing boats tied to the shore.

recreation at Independence Lake, Leisz said that a final decision on the land exchange would depend on the results of the service's EIS, to be completed within the next year unless unexpected delays were encountered. If, after response from the public and from county, state, and federal agencies, the project was determined to be in the public interest and to have met all the requirements of policy and law, then the Forest Service would be willing to process the exchange substantially as proposed.[29] Neither the state nor Sierra County could or would act to consider Disney's resort plan, however, until the Disney corporation made formal application to them for approval. As long as Disney insisted upon approval of the land exchange as a prior condition to formal application, Disney and the Forest Service were at a stalemate.[30]

Under these circumstances, Disney backed away from its demand. Instead it completed what Disney President Card Walker referred to as a preliminary master plan and environmental impact statement, which it submitted to the Forest Service, Sierra County, and the state agencies.[31] Disney's study was prepared by Dames and Moore of Los Angeles and entitled "Independence Lake Project, Environmental Assessment Report"; the corporation issued it late in 1976.

In December Hicks filed applications for the Independence Lake project with the Sierra County Planning Commission.[32] Due to the omission of one document, however, and a pending change in CEQA guidelines on January 1, 1977, to limit preparation of an EIR to one year, Disney withdrew its applications until a later date.

The corporation, which placed particular blame on the Forest Service, criticized the entire review process. As Hicks summarized, "The problem overall seems to be that no one in the agencies knows what they are doing, what the many laws and regulations really say, [and] what they don't say."[33] He recommended that Disney not proceed unless Sierra County could take the lead and provide assurance that existing problems had been resolved.

In the early months of 1977, numerous meetings took place between the major participants in the review process—Disney and its partners, the Forest Service, Sierra County, and state agencies. In February, California Resources Secretary Dedrick announced formation of a "Mt. Lola Task Force." She instructed the various state agencies in the task force to participate in "substantial joint planning and program *decisions*" with the applicant and with federal, state, and local agencies.[34]

Despite this positive step, uncertainties about the review process remained. When Wing Chao, planning manager for Disney, requested information on the latest requirements for filing an application with Sierra County, the county's director of planning, Tim Beals, explained that no definition of a completed application existed and that the decision rested at the discretion of the county.[35] In addition, while Disney expected the state Office of Planning and Research to coordinate the review process, the Department of Resources assumed this task.

Nevertheless, review of Disney's project proceeded. In March 1977, the Resources Agency called a meeting to coordinate procedures for Disney's applications for permits. Attending were representatives from all the state agencies that would issue or approve permits for the Disney project, Sierra County, and all those agencies that would review and comment on the draft and final statement of the EIR.[36] By May, and prior to formal application by Disney to Sierra County, each had criticized Disney's report, pointing out weaknesses and suggesting revisions and additions.[37]

Although the Forest Service commended Disney's study in general, the agency also said that the report

failed to address adequately the question of alternative plans.[38] James E. Smith, enforcement officer of the California Tahoe Regional Planning Agency, in a comment to the Forest Service, called the report much too "self-serving," more like a prospectus than an analysis. He also noted the need for a section on how the project would induce growth in surrounding areas, including the Tahoe Basin.[39]

Several state agencies were quite critical. The Department of Fish and Game, for example, found the report "clearly inadequate"; it did not provide the detailed and comprehensive description of environmental impact required by CEQA and NEPA. The department argued that since Disney offered no significant alternatives, little room had been left for negotiation. Also, as the department explained, "not until impacts of the proposed and alternative projects are identified can effective mitigation measures be planned."[40]

L. Frank Goodson, California Resources Agency project coordinator for the review of the Disney proposal, explained that a privately prepared preliminary study such as the Disney report was intended only to provide a cursory preview of the project and to allow federal, state, and local agencies an opportunity to comment at an early stage of the planning process.[41] Such comments, he added, could prove useful to Sierra County and the Forest Service in their development of the state and federal environmental impact statements respectively.

Under California law, because Sierra County was the site of the proposed project, it would be the "lead agency" (the public agency with principal responsibility for carrying out or approving a project) and therefore would develop the EIR the state required. The guidelines for implementing CEQA allowed no more than one year to complete and certify an EIR; the year was to begin as soon as Sierra County accepted an application as complete.[42]

Sierra County's EIR was to evaluate the benefits and impact of development on the privately owned lands; the Forest Service's EIS was to evaluate development of national forest land. Both studies were required to assess various alternative levels of development and to promote and provide for public

Local action increased in the fall of 1975 when the Sierra County Conservation Club appealed to the Sierra Club. . . .

participation in the evaluation process. After completion of the EIR and EIS, one of the alternatives in the studies would be selected by Sierra County and the Forest Service. Only then, assuming the alternative selected was acceptable to Disney, could development of a year-round resort proceed.[43]

According to the Forest Service, the length of time needed to complete its environmental review depended largely on the accuracy and completeness of Disney's report. After all necessary data had been collected and all alternatives evaluated, the preparation and distribution of the service's draft and final environmental statements could begin, a process that itself normally takes a year. Sierra County's one-year time limit did not apply to the Forest Service.

During the summer of 1977, several meetings were held between Disney officials and representatives of Sierra County and the various state agencies that could issue and approve permits for the Mount Lola-Independence Lake project. On July 25, Disney formally asked the Sierra County Planning Commission for an amendment to the Sierra County General Plan requesting a zoning change for 1120 acres to allow intensive recreational use of land then classified as general forest. Disney also requested special use permits for improvement on private land. The application formally involved Sierra County in the project and opened the door to public participation in the decision-making process.[44]

In the same period, Disney finally filed a special-use-permit application with the Forest Service for ski lifts and trails and other improvements on national forest land. In early October, Sierra County and the Forest Service accepted Disney's applications as complete. The agencies then announced their intent to distribute a joint final EIR/EIS for comment by October 1978. This decision to prepare a single environmental impact document marked the first time the Forest Service had worked with a county in California in such a joint venture. The action was intended to save time and avoid unnecessary duplication of effort.[45] Despite the decision, Disney officials now thought it unlikely the resort could open before winter 1981.

At this point, private citizens and environmental organizations had their first officially authorized opportunity to play an active part in the environmental review process. However, despite the lack of official sanction, environmental organizations and Sierra and Nevada county residents had expressed concern about the proposed Disney project since the beginning.

In 1975, the Mother Lode Chapter of the Sierra Club established a task force under James M. Moose, Jr., to evaluate the physical, economic, and social impact of the proposed project. The chapter expressed both its hope that Disney would keep the club advised of developments and the chapter's willingness in turn to comment on plans as they became known.[46] The Sierra Club hoped for an opportunity to influence so major a development in the early stages of planning; Disney concurrently hoped to resolve any environmental problems in their early stages and to avoid any possible recurrence of its Mineral King debacle. Newspapers interpreted this proposal as most unusual cooperation, but the Sierra Club made clear its reservation of the right to oppose development in its entirety if, upon final analysis, it proved unsatisfactory. For the time being, the Sierra Club took "no position."

Also in 1975, nearly 300 people filled the Tahoe-Truckee High School auditorium for a preview of plans for the proposed resort, while several young people picketed outside with such slogans as "Don't Mickey Mouse Sierra County." Local people had mixed response to the project—at least to the sketchy information then available. Some welcomed the projected economic benefits; others feared the impact of sudden growth.[47]

Local action increased in the fall of 1975 when the Sierra County Conservation Club appealed to the Sierra Club for assistance in opposing the threatened intrusion of the Disney corporation. Describing itself as "tiny, in an isolated county, dispersed over a huge area, and horribly disorganized," the Conservation Club gradually gained members and local support.[48] Clearly the size of the proposed Disney resort would irrevocably alter life in Sierra County, a county then boasting that its fewer than 3000 residents could not find a single stop light in the entire county. None was needed.

The hope of many county residents that rapid population growth and its attendant problems might be prevented looked increasingly improbable. A 1970 Sierra County general plan predicted slow growth and a maximum of 5000 county residents by the turn of the century, but by mid-decade California's Mother Lode country was experiencing a land boom unprecedented since the Gold Rush.[49] Numerous Californians—commuters to Central Valley cities, retirees, young families, and others—sought refuge from urban social problems as well as opportunities for low-cost housing and a better environment in which to live. Ironically, the transplanted residents often brought urban problems with them—escalating land prices, crowded schools, and rising crime rates. No wonder many Sierra and Nevada county residents expressed concern about the Disney project, a project that promised to attract more than a million visitors annually.

Several California counties have populations so low that any of them would be altered drastically for better or worse, by a project the size of that proposed by Disney. Between 1970 and 1978, Sierra County was strained by a population jump of forty percent, and Nevada County with a jump of close to seventy percent.[50] The communities in these counties could not be expected either to fund such explosive growth as projected from the Disney project or to provide the public services that it would require, seemingly overnight.

In nearby Placer County, about fifteen miles south of Independence Lake, a county planner opposed the Disney project because of such "spin-off problems" as the increased needs for transportation, education, public services, and utilities.[51] Many residents complained that Placer County would be severely affected by a corporation operating beyond their control.[52] In fact, the unincorporated town of Truckee, across the Sierra County border and located in Nevada County, with a population of 2000 and already undergoing rapid growth, felt Disney's presence. When word spread about the proposed Independence Lake development, land speculators abounded; an estimated quarter of the property in downtown Truckee changed hands within a year or two.[53]

During 1977, as the Disney corporation actively promoted its proposed resort, the Sierra County Conservation Cub took the lead in organizing local opposition to the "encroachment," writing letters to the editors of local newspapers, soliciting new members for the club, and organizing information to contest Disney's environmental statement. The Conservation Club, essentially without funds, appealed to the Sierra Club for $300 to acquire a typewriter, stamps, phone, and other essentials.[54] The Sierra Club continued to take no official position on the proposal. According to Michael McCloskey, the club's executive director, the Mother Lode Chapter had monitored the project since 1975. He added: "Unfortunately, they [Disney] failed to provide the information that we needed, and I don't think that there is any hope anymore that they will take our advice about going with the project or not."[55]

In January 1978, a coalition of concerned citizens in Sierra, Nevada, and Placer counties called a news conference to announce formation of "Independence." The new environmental organization, coordinated by Steve Benner, Ann Clark, Tom Graham, and others, wished to ensure adequate public representation during the review process and a review that was conducted fully in accord with the provisions of CEQA.

Already, in the summer of 1977, the Nevada City law firm of Berliner and Ellers had brought suit for three members of the Sierra County Conservation Club against the Disney corporation and the Sierra County Board of Supervisors on grounds that federal civil rights to due process and equal protection had been violated.[56] The plaintiffs complained that Disney and county officials had met to discuss the Independence Lake project without notice to the public. Fearing that the county supervisors would bend before pressure applied by corporate leaders, the plaintiffs wished to thwart any attempts at future "secret" meetings. Although a U.S. District Court judge ruled that no federal rights had been violated, the suit had indicated public concern with the environmental review process.[57]

Disney officials remained hopeful that Independence Lake would become a model, year-round, recreation area. On October 4, 1977, when Disney completed its formal application and when Sierra County and the Forest Service agreed to develop a joint EIR/EIS, the corporation expected the review process to proceed at full speed. Yet TerraScan, an environmental consulting firm hired by Sierra County, explained that Disney's environmental assessment report had serious inadequacies that would result necessarily in further delays, as well as in increased costs for preparation of the final report.[58] Also the Forest Service's need for detailed socio-economic, transportation, and wildlife and fisheries studies, to be included with the EIR/EIS draft, contributed to the expectation of delay.

In January 1978, individual agencies represented on the state task force for the Independence Lake project suggested alternatives, as required by law, to the Disney proposal. These included no project at all, a project for winter use only, and a project with village facilities away from the proposed site at Independence Lake.[59] At a January 27 meeting of Disney, the Forest Service, and Sierra County representatives, Tim Beals, director of the Sierra County Planning Department, warned that Disney's application might be declared incomplete due to the corporation's failure to provide all the data previously requested.[60] Because extra time was needed to collect additional information and to allow public review, the date for completion of the final EIR/EIS was rescheduled for March 1979.[61]

To Disney, no delay was warranted; it argued that the county had accepted its application as complete and was bound to a fixed time schedule. The corporation hoped to begin construction in the Spring, 1980, and even a few months delay could mean the loss of another building season. With inflation, each year's delay added significantly to the project's cost.

In early February of 1978, Beals and Richard Adams, the Forest Service's liaison officer for the Disney project, sent invitations to representatives of thirteen selected citizen organizations to form a "working committee" that would act in an advisory capacity.[62] Its intended function was to comment on the direction of the review process, on the proposed alternatives, and on the mitigation measures developed in response to any significant negative effects. The committee was formed shortly thereafter, and the whole review process seemed to be progressing well.

Difficulties continued to arise, however. When Beals and Goodson, the state task force coordinator, assessed the status of the Disney project early in March, they noted an apparent attempt by Disney to circumvent or shorten the environmental review process. They believed that Disney was pressing the governor, the Office of Planning and Research, and the Resources Agency for preferential treatment. Goodson remarked: "If Disney would have listened to me, I could have given them their [winter only] project, but they have chosen to take another route, and I question whether or not they will even have their project at the end of the process."[63]

While the review proceeded methodically, Disney officials had been checking their own time schedules and costs. The corporation faced requests for additional information, consideration of alternative plans it found unacceptable, and possible further delays; Disney re-evaluated its entire commitment to a year-round resort. Already, early in 1978, the corporation had accepted final defeat in its lengthy battle to establish a resort at Mineral King. As Congress moved swiftly to incorporate Mineral King in Sequoia National Park, Disney President Walker wrote a strongly worded letter in protest to President Jimmy Carter, alleging his administration had buckled under to a small group of preservationists.[64]

On March 8, when Disney's project manager, Wing Chao, appeared before the Sierra County Planning Commission, he startled his audience by announcing: "Walt Disney Productions would like to state for the record that until we are assured of a positive, responsive and responsible attitude and action plan by all agencies involved to meet the previously agreed upon conditions and timetables for the Independence Lake project, we are suspending all operations and expenditures of funds relative to this project."[65]

While the review proceeded methodically, Disney officials had been checking their own time schedules and costs.

This surprise announcement of the withdrawal of its application apparently resulted from Disney's frustration with the prospect of further delays and of "complete uncertainty as to when, if ever, the process will now be completed." Construction could not have begun before the summer of 1980 at the earliest; Disney complained that state authorities and agencies had not kept a promise to complete the EIR process within one year of its initiation.

The *Los Angeles Times* supported Disney's charges. In an editorial titled "A Mickey Mouse Permit Process," the *Times* argued that other applicants had been subjected to costly and complex permit procedures at all levels of government.[66] Even if the environmental impact study proved favorable to Disney, the *Times* added, the corporation still could not proceed until it had additional approval from nine state agencies.

Disney had other criticisms as well; Chao cited the "ever-increasing negative attitudes" on the part of many state officials. The State Department of Fish and Game in particular came under sharp attack for

Trees, lake and mountains provided an attractive setting for the projected year-round family resort proposed by the Walt Disney Outdoor Recreation Division.

an article written by John Hummel, a wildlife biologist employed by the department.[67] Chao argued that Hummel's report contained several inaccuracies about the Independence Lake project and failed to explain that possible negative effects might be mitigated. The implication was that Hummel and other state officials were purposely distorting the truth in an effort to undermine Disney's proposal.

Chao also stated that the project alternatives considered should be reasonably related to the project an applicant is prepared to undertake. A proposal that the Independence Lake project be moved from private land to Forest Service land a few miles away near Highway 89 and that a monorail provide a transportation link with the lake was totally unacceptable to the corporation. Disney also rejected the possible limitation to winter use only, arguing that it was economically unfeasible and it conflicted with Disney's plan for a year-round, family, recreation area.[68] In summarizing its grievances, Disney explained: "It is the irresponsible proliferation of delays, the never-ending requests for more and more irrelevant information and studies, the bureaucratic sidetracking and meanderings into unreasonable alternatives, and the ever-increasing attendant costs to the applicant, as typified by the treatment of Dow Chemical, which we seek to avoid."[69]

The reference to Dow Chemical signaled a shift in strategy by Disney. Dow's withdrawal from a proposal for a giant petrochemical complex in the Sacramento-San Joaquin delta after the Bay Area Pollution Control District ruled against the construction had caused sharp criticism of Governor Jerry Brown's administration. Dow blamed bureaucratic red tape for hurting the state's economy, and Disney suggested that the Independence Lake project was a victim of similar bureaucratic mismanagement and delays. The strategy backfired, however. According to an editorial in the *Sacramento Bee:* "The high-handed attempts by Walt Disney Productions to put pressure on Sierra County and Gov. Brown to approve the $80 million, year-round Disney resort at Independence Lake are unwarranted, unreasonable and improper."[70]

Both the Forest Service and Sierra County officials defended their performances in the review process. Forest Supervisor Robert G. Lancaster explained that failure to comply with the requirement of NEPA could result in litigation—thus collection of all necessary data was essential even if it entailed delays. Furthermore, the range of alternatives was not to be dictated by the applicant and could include alteration of location, design, scale, sequence, and timing. The Forest Service, he announced, intended to continue its preparation of an EIS for winter sports and for other outdoor recreation use of national forest land at Mount Lola, even if Disney withdrew permanently. A prospectus for development would be issued, and any interested parties could submit plans for consideration within the framework determined by the review process.[71]

Frank Goodson stated that the EIR process was on schedule, and he complimented Sierra County for its role to date. At a special, March 22 meeting of the Sierra County Planning Commission, he assured Disney officials that all state agencies would be able to complete their review and issue necessary permits by July 1979. "My most important message," he remarked, "is let's let the process work."[72]

Tim Beals provided a detailed chronology of Sierra County's involvement in the review of Disney's proposal. Disney had continually changed the project description and accompanying data between 1974 and 1978, he said, and the corporation had not made formal application for approval of the project until July 1977. Then, the information provided by Disney proved to be incomplete and inadequate—thus the delays.[73]

Disney could argue, however, that initial problems in the community had been unfairly attributed to Disney World.

At the same meeting, Dick Nunis, the Disney corporation's vice-president for recreational development, called on the Forest Service and Sierra County to support the project if they wanted it and to ask for a meeting with Governor Brown. The response of the Sierra County Planning Commission chairman, Richard M. Tuthill, brought a round of applause from the 200 private citizens and public officials in the audience: "At this point I don't have all the information; I can't say whether I want the project or not."[74] The vociferous support of local residents undoubtedly played an important part in encouraging county and Forest Service officials to take the time needed to complete their joint report and to comply fully with CEQA/NEPA requirements.

Disney officials appealed directly to Governor Brown, arguing that until the corporation received assurance of positive action, it could not proceed with the project. Although according to Wing Chao, Disney was not asking for premature approval, he also said that Brown's endorsement of the project might make other state officials more "objective and reasonable."[75] "This is akin," said a Sierra Club spokesperson, "to a defendant asking for the Judge's expression of confidence he is innocent before the trial begins."[76] In early May, Brown and seven high-ranking members of his staff met with Disney and Sierra County officials for a review and general discussion of the problem. Nothing new developed from this meeting, however, and the governor did not intervene in the controversy.[77]

A coalition of environmental organizations, including Independence, the Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society, Friends of the Earth, and the Planning and Conservation League accused Disney of attempting to get special "above-the-law" treatment comparable to that it had received in Florida.[78] Nevada County attorney Harold A. Berliner wrote and published a pamphlet titled "The Real Magic in the Magic Kingdom: Disney World's own Local Government," an indictment of Disney's practices in the governance of Florida's Reedy Creek Improvement District, site of Disney World.[79] Berliner argued that Disney World was in essence a "feudal domain," virtually free from zoning laws, land-use laws, and building regulations of both the state and county. While conceding that Disney enhanced the landscape in many cases and was a "good company which delivers a good product," Berliner suggested that Disney was used to having its own way in Florida. California, however, operated by different rules. "If it has a good project," Berliner stated, "Disney should be able to succeed on its own merits, obeying the rules which govern the rest of the state and its citizens."[80] In brief, Disney should not try to abrogate or short-circuit the environmental review process in California.

Berliner was not alone in questioning Disney World as a model of what might be expected from a Disney project. In 1972 the program "60 Minutes" had revealed the impact of Disney World on the community just outside its gates: the biggest traffic jams in the county's history, a building boom, and a doubled crime rate.[81] *Time* magazine characterized the development as an example of "idealized, high despotic city planning."[82]

Disney could argue, however, that initial problems in the community had been unfairly attributed to Disney World. It also later pointed with pride to receipt of the third annual Urban Land Institute's award of excellence for its Florida development.[83]

At approximately the same time as the appearance of Berliner's pamphlet, the Sierra Club's Mother Lode Chapter issued an analysis of the Independence Lake project based on Disney's revised environmental assessment report of October 1977. The chapter's executive committee recommended that the club oppose the project, citing the negative impact on the environment of an expected 1.35 million annual visitor-days at the completion of the first phase of the development. The Sierra Club's analysis emphasized the social and economic consequences, especially on Nevada and Sierra counties, and reinforced the criticisms expressed by others.[84]

Despite these criticisms and the suspension of activity by Disney, Forest Service officials met with Disney officials, and, in July, Forest Supervisor Lancaster proposed that alternatives calling for transfer of the project away from Independence Lake be dropped from consideration. The Sierra County Board of Supervisors, however, voted unanimously to take no action on this suggestion until it received a request from Disney to reactivate work on the project. There matters ended, for Disney has not made such a request.[85]

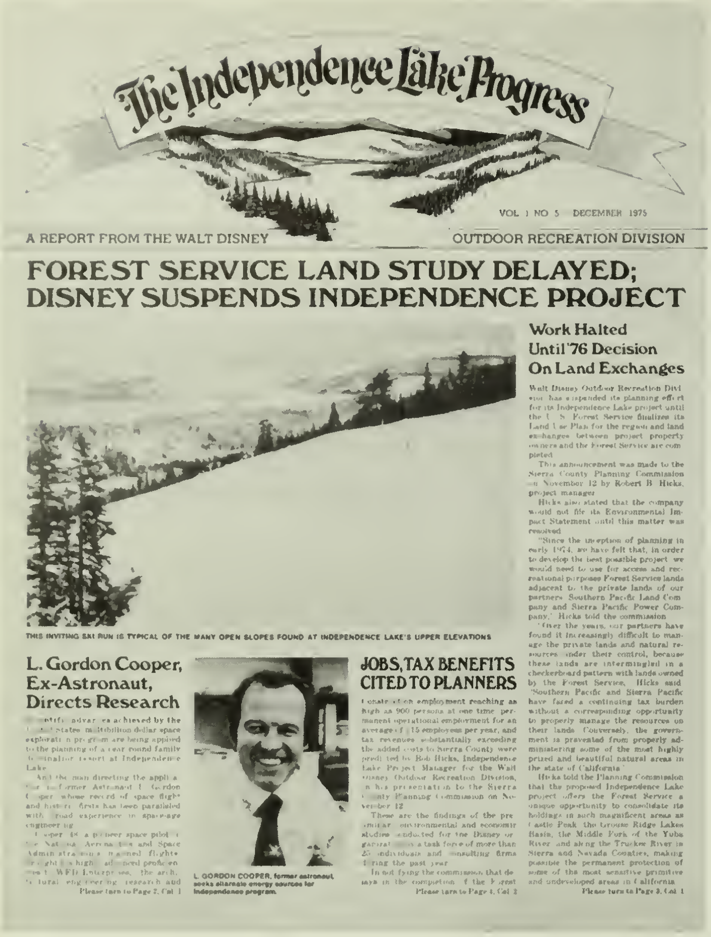
To assess who was responsible for the misunderstandings and conflicts that resulted in Disney's withdrawal would be difficult. Disney accused Sierra County and state officials of obstructionism and arbitrary changes in requirements and time schedules. In response, state and county officials argued that Disney had caused the delays itself.

As Disney's Independence Lake project underwent careful scrutiny, the proposed project's significant impact on the environment became increasingly apparent. Disney officials were unwilling to accept the possibility that their project might be reduced substantially in size or scope or even disallowed entirely. In brief, it can be argued that Disney withdrew because the environmental review process functioned properly.

Perhaps the critical factor in the outcome was rising local opposition to the project, especially in Sierra County.

Perhaps the critical factor in the outcome was rising local opposition to the project, especially in Sierra County. Ultimately the county, as the lead agency, had to decide whether the resort should be constructed as proposed by Disney. Local citizen action and the efforts of Tim Beals and elected county officials who withstood increasing pressure and criticism from powerful outside interests, allowed the review process to proceed on track. And in the end, local sentiment for maintaining the Mount Lola-Independence Lake region as undeveloped forest land prevailed over support for construction of a privately owned and operated resort.

The real motives behind Disney's withdrawal may be written only in the corporation's private files, but certainly frustration and distrust of the environmental review process played an important role. While the corporation attacked what it considered ill defined procedures of CEQA, officials in charge of the review process thought Disney reluctant to cooperate in full disclosure of the project's environmental impact. Disney's strategy proved faulty; it elevated the controversy to statewide if not national significance. As a result, state public-interest groups



The Independence Lake Progress

VOL. 1 NO. 5 DECEMBER 1975

A REPORT FROM THE WALT DISNEY OUTDOOR RECREATION DIVISION

FOREST SERVICE LAND STUDY DELAYED; DISNEY SUSPENDS INDEPENDENCE PROJECT

THIS INVITING SKI RUN IS TYPICAL OF THE MANY OPEN SLOPES FOUND AT INDEPENDENCE LAKE'S UPPER ELEVATIONS

Work Halted Until '76 Decision On Land Exchanges

Walt Disney Outdoor Recreation Division has suspended its planning effort for its Independence Lake project until the U. S. Forest Service finalizes its Land Use Plan for the region and land exchanges between project property owners and the Forest Service are completed.

This announcement was made to the Sierra County Planning Commission on November 12 by Robert B. Hicks, project manager.

Hicks also stated that the company would not file its Environmental Impact Statement until this matter was resolved.

"Since the inception of planning in early 1974, we have felt that, in order to develop the best possible project, we would need to use for access and recreational purposes Forest Service lands adjacent to the private lands of our partners Southern Pacific Land Company and Sierra Pacific Power Company," Hicks told the commission.

"Over the years, our partners have found it increasingly difficult to manage the private lands and natural resources under their control, because these lands are intermingled in a checkerboard pattern with lands owned by the Forest Service," Hicks said. "Southern Pacific and Sierra Pacific have faced a continuing tax burden without a corresponding opportunity to properly manage the resources on their lands. Conversely, the government is prevented from properly administering some of the most highly prized and beautiful natural areas in the state of California."

Hicks told the Planning Commission that the proposed Independence Lake project offers the Forest Service a unique opportunity to consolidate its holdings in such magnificent areas as Castle Peak, the Grouse Ridge Lakes Basin, the Middle Fork of the Yuba River and along the Truckee River in Sierra and Nevada Counties, making possible the permanent protection of some of the most sensitive primitive and undeveloped areas in California.

Please turn to Page 3, Col. 1

L. Gordon Cooper, Ex-Astronaut, Directs Research

Please turn to Page 2, Col. 1

L. GORDON COOPER, former astronaut, seeks alternate energy sources for Independence program.

JOBS, TAX BENEFITS CITED TO PLANNERS

Construction employment reaching as high as 900 persons at one time, permanent operational employment for an average of 115 employees per year, and tax revenues substantially exceeding the added costs to Sierra County were predicted by Bob Hicks, Independence Lake Project Manager for the Walt Disney Outdoor Recreation Division, in his presentation to the Sierra County Planning Commission on November 12.

These are the findings of the preliminary environmental and economic studies conducted for the Disney organization by a task force of more than 25 individuals and consulting firms during the past year.

In notifying the commission that delays in the completion of the Forest

Please turn to Page 4, Col. 3

The Independence Lake Progress *(an information newsletter published by Walt Disney Productions) for December of 1975 announced the suspension of Disney planning efforts at Independence Lake until the Forest Service could finalize its Land Use Plan for the region.*

and local citizens rallied to defend the environmental review process and its requirement of full disclosure. In fact, defense of full disclosure, rather than the Independence Lake proposal itself, became the central issue.

Disney officials never seemed to understand the legal requirements with which the lead agencies had to comply. Neither did they distinguish between the EIR/EIS report itself, which would have explored all feasible approaches to the project, and a final decision based on the report. According to Huey Johnson, California's Resources Secretary, and several other officials, if Disney had been patient and accepted a short delay, it probably would have gained most of what it wanted, or at least a winter resort.

Johnson's assessment seems reasonable. After all, the Forest Service had allocated the Mount Lola area to recreational use, and Frank Goodson and other state officials personally favored a large "winter only" resort at Independence Lake. The proposed resort was not the sole cause of the controversy; Disney's attempts to speed up the established review process through political pressure ultimately proved the project's undoing.

In Disney's defense, it is true that delays occurred in the review process between 1972 and 1978. CEQA guidelines often were unclear, and confusion arose at times between Sierra County and state officials over who should communicate what to whom. Often decisions reached at meetings to which Disney officials were not invited were slow to be communicated to the corporation. Disney believed it offered a clean and attractive recreational resort and that the corporation would be a desirable new member of the community in Sierra County. It saw no excuse for the delays and problems that arose over its proposed project. In addition, it saw no purpose in the consideration of major alternatives to its proposal (even though required by law), as none was acceptable to it.

Despite the validity of some of Disney's complaints, the corporation was informed early of prospective problems in its environmental assessment and the likelihood of delays. In addition, the state recognized and worked to correct obvious shortcomings in the review process, such as inadequate coordination and confusion over the number of permits required. Assembly bill 884, signed by Governor Brown on September 30, 1977, clarified the procedures to be used in assessing development projects under CEQA. Among its provisions the law stipulated the specific information required from an applicant, clarified the criteria for measuring the completeness of information submitted, and established the maximum time schedule for the lead agency to consider a project. While the act helped remove many of the uncertainties that Disney had encountered, the corporation believed that environmental review procedures needed further clarification.

While recognizing that Disney encountered delays as the result of the review process at Independence Lake, government officials, environmental organizations, and private citizens had every right to ask hard questions and insist that Disney comply with all requirements under CEQA and NEPA. After all, the purpose of the process is to assure an informed decision in the public interest. The days of largely unquestioned development that for so many years characterized such areas as the Lake Tahoe Basin had come to an end. The conflict over Independence Lake is one clear signal that California's environmental review process is coming of age.[86]

The illustrations on pages 103 and 116 are courtesy of Walt Disney Productions. All others were supplied by the Sierra Pacific Power Company.

Notes

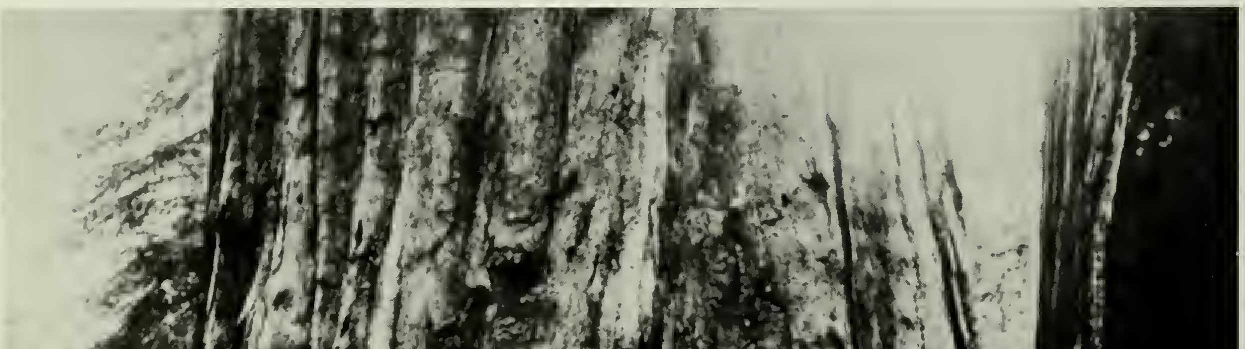
1. A draft of this article benefited from the criticism of Wing Chao, Richard Adams, Tim Beals, Harold Berliner, Frank Goodson, Al Gutowsky, Stephen Benner, and others.
2. Until publicized by Disney, Independence Lake was a quiet backwater in the northern Sierra Nevada. Although bypassed by major wagon roads across the Sierra, the lake became the site of a small hotel; then lumber companies largely cut over the timber in the area. Since the late 1930s, the Sierra Pacific Power Company has used the lake as a storage reservoir for hydroelectric power development and has provided limited camping facilities for the public.
3. Ruthann Corwin and others, *Environmental Impact Assessment* (San Francisco: Freeman, Cooper and Company, 1975), p. 221. Under the guidelines for implementing CEQA, issued by the Secretary for Resources, February, 1973, the following subjects should be discussed in an EIR report: (a) the environmental impact of the proposed action, (b) any adverse environmental effects which cannot be avoided if the proposal is implemented, (c) mitigation measures proposed to minimize the impact, (d) alternatives to the proposed action, (e) the relationship between local short-term uses of man's environment and the maintenance and enhancement of long-term productivity, (f) any irreversible environmental changes which would be involved in the proposed action should it be implemented, and (g) the growth-inducing impact of the proposed action. Thomas G. Dickert (ed.), *Environmental Impact Assessment: Guidelines and Commentary* (Berkeley: University Extension, University of California, 1974), pp. 227-28.
4. Disney's records of its Independence Lake project are scattered, difficult of access, and largely in storage. A detailed chronology of events from December 31, 1971 to March 14, 1978 and some accompanying documents are temporarily stored in the office of Wing Chao, WED Enterprises, Glendale, California. Cited hereafter as WED.
5. Bob Hicks to Card Walker, January 2, 1972, WED
6. March 3, 1973, chronology, WED.

7. The Sierra Pacific Power Company had purchased some 2200 acres of lakeshore property and water rights from the Hobart Estate, successor to the Nevada Wood and Lumber Company. Most of the land in the vicinity of the lake was divided in a checkerboard fashion between the Southern Pacific Land Company and the U.S. Forest Service.
8. "Mt. Lola-Independence Lake Proposal, Tahoe National Forest" (n.d.), a chronology of events to December 1975, in U.S. Forest Service records, Sierraville Ranger Station, Sierraville, California. Cited hereafter as USFS, Sierraville. The Forest Service did exchange a much smaller parcel of land with the Sierra Pacific Power Company for a parcel near Independence Lake, since the transaction was consistent with the existing land-exchange program.
9. "Disney Search for Resort Site," October 24, 1973, and "Walt Disney Plans for Sierra Lake Resort," July 18, 1974, *San Francisco Chronicle*. Also see "Family Resort Planned for Sierra," *Southern Pacific Bulletin* (September 1974), 6.
10. "Independence Lake Project Cost Summary," attached to Ronald J. Cayo, Disney vice-president for business affairs, to Sierra County Planning Commission, September 12, 1977, Sierra County Planning Department records, Downieville, California. Cited hereafter as SCPD, Downieville.
11. "Independence Lake Village and Resort," a fact sheet distributed by the U.S. Forest Service (n.d.), Stephen Benner Collection, Sierraville.
12. Walt Disney Productions, "Independence Lake: Family Recreation for All Seasons" (1977), a promotional pamphlet.
13. "Conservation Panel Supports Project," *The Independence Lake Progress*, I, No. 2 (January 1975), 3, a publication of Walt Disney Productions.
14. "Sierra Club Opens Door to Disney," *Nevada State Journal*, October 10, 1974.
15. "Disney Discloses Preliminary Studies Support Independence Lake Project," *The Independence Lake Progress*, I, No. 4 (July 1975), 1.
16. "In-Depth Environmental Studies Underway," *Ibid.*, 7.
17. "Forest Land Study Delayed; Disney Suspends Independence Project," *The Independence Lake Progress*, I, No. 5 (December 1975), 1.
18. "Mt. Lola-Independence Lake Proposal."
19. Doug Leisz to Cayo, November 14, 1975, and Cayo, to Leisz, December 5, 1975, WED.
20. November 4, 1975, cited in "Mt. Lola-Independence Lake Proposal."
21. *USDA-Forest Service Environmental Statement, Land Use Plan, Truckee-Little Truckee Rivers Planning Unit* (May 28, 1976), pp. 16, 103.
22. "Mt. Lola-Independence Lake Proposal."
23. *Land Use Plan*, p. 18.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-21, 122, 259-61.
25. Dedrick to Richard L. Stauber, April 8, *Ibid.*, p. 459.
26. Peter C. Schneider to Robert Lancaster, October 22, 1976, Benner Collection.
27. September 27, 1976, USFS, Sierraville.
28. Copy in Benner Collection. Also see Robert G. Lancaster to "Concerned Citizen," February 7, 1977, Benner Collection; and "USFS Reveals Secret Pact with Disney," *Sierra Sun-Bonanza*, January 21, 1977.
29. The policy and actions of the Forest Service are outlined in fact sheets attached to Lancaster to "Interested Citizen," November 11, 1976, and Lancaster to "Concerned Citizen," February 7, 1977, Benner Collection.
30. Robert Lancaster to E. Cardon Walker, (n.d.), USFS, Sierraville. Also see Richard F. Masse and Camille Broussard, "Land Exchange: A Case Study," *Parks and Recreation*, XII (December 1977), 26-29, 40-41.
31. E. Cardon Walker, "1976: Year of Transition," *Annual Report 1976: Walt Disney Productions*, p. 6.
32. Hicks to Sierra County Planning Commission, December 9, 1976, WED.
33. Hicks to "Those Concerned," January 19, 1977, WED.
34. Memorandum from Secretary of Resources to Department Directors, Executive Officers of Boards and Commissions, February 15, 1977, WED.
35. Beals to Chao, April 22, 1977, WED.
36. These included the departments of Transportation, Forestry, and Fish and Game, and the State Lands Commission, the Regional Water Quality Control Board, the State Water Resources Board, the Public Utilities Commission, and the Solid Waste Management Board. Goodson to Ronald J. Cayo, March 25, 1977, SCPD, Downieville.
37. Lancaster to "Interested Citizen," October 3, 1977, Benner Collection.
38. Richard Adams to Forest Supervisor, January 26, 1977, USFS, Sierraville.
39. James E. Smith to Goodson, April 6, 1977, Benner Collection.
40. Memorandum from the Department of Fish and Game to Goodson, April 6, 1977, Benner Collection.
41. Goodson to Tim Beals, May 11, 1977, Benner Collection.
42. State of California Administrative Code, Title 14, Chapter 3, Resources, 15054.2.
43. Lancaster to "Interested Citizen," November 11, 1976, Benner Collection.
44. Thomas Graham, "Disney Files Resort Application with Sierra County," *Tahoe World*, July 28, 1977.
45. Thomas Graham, "Forest Service, Sierra County Agree to Prepare Joint Environmental Review," *Tahoe World*, October 13, 1977.
46. James M. Moose, Jr., to editor, *Mountain Messenger*, November 24, 1975, Al Gutowsky Collection, Sacramento.

Earlier in October 1974, Sierra Club and Disney officials had conferred on the project and jointly visited Independence Lake.

47. "Independence Lake Resort Plans Told," *San Francisco Chronicle,* July 18, 1975.
48. Gretchen Williams to Jane Kimberlin, Sierra Club, November 20, 1975, Gutowsky Collection. Another group, Sierra County Citizens for Economic Survival, supported Disney's project and noted the economic benefits to county residents that would result from its development.
49. Harry Halatyn, *Sierra County General Plan* (July 1970), p. 4.
50. Joan Sweeney, "Sierra Lure—Urban Dropouts Bring Urban Problems," *Los Angeles Times,* March 25, 1979; and Harold Gilliam, "A Battle Over Growth in the Mother Lode," in *This World* in *San Francisco Chronicle,* October 22, 1978.
51. G. Deane Prigmore, Placer County Associate Planner, to Lancaster, February 22, 1977, USFS, Sierraville. Prigmore's statement was not supported by other county officials, however.
52. Officials of Nevada County, which borders Independence Lake, argued even more strongly that their county should share responsibility for evaluating the Disney project. Eric Rood, Chairman, Board of Supervisors, to William Press, Director, Office of Planning and Research, December 15, 1977, USFS, Sierraville.
53. "Disney's New Land—Sierra," *San Francisco Chronicle,* May 1, 1977.
54. Steve Benner to Al Gutowsky, September 22, 1977, Benner Collection.
55. McCloskey to George Anderson, March 31, 1977, Benner Collection.
56. Civil No. 5-77-445 in U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of California, filed February 21, 1978.
57. "Judge Rejects Suit Against Disney," and "Disney Plaintiffs Respond," *Mountain Messenger,* February 23, 1978.
58. TerraScan, "December Progress Report," January 15, 1978, SCPD, Downieville.
59. TerraScan, "January Progress Report," February 15, 1978, SCPD, Downieville.
60. "Minutes" of meeting of January 27, 1978; and Beals to Chao, March 1, 1978, SCPD, Downieville.
61. A bill, AB 884, which took effect January 1, 1978, allowed the state's lead agency to waive the state's one year time limit for completion of an EIR if a joint EIR/EIS were to be issued.
62. Form letter, February 6, 1978, SCPD, Downieville.
63. Beals, memorandum of telephone conversation with Goodson, March 7, 1978, SCPD, Downieville.
64. February 13, 1978, USFS, Sierraville.
65. *Disneynews* (March 8, 1978), 6. Copies of Disney news releases are in the Walt Disney Productions Archives, Burbank, California. For a brief history of the events leading to this decision, see Robert A. Jones, "How Disney Resort Plans Went Awry," *Los Angeles Times,* March 22, 1978.
66. March 27, 1978.
67. Curiously, no similar accusation was leveled against any of the principal officials involved in the review process: Tim Beals, Frank Goodson, and Richard Adams.
68. One alternative was a winter resort to service nearly twice as many skiers as proposed by Disney, based on the contention that Disney's proposed ski lifts could serve many more people.
69. *Disneynews* (March 8, 1978), 4.
70. "High-Handed Tactics," *Sacramento Bee,* March 24, 1978.
71. "Statement Relative to the Mt. Lola-Independence Lake Project," presented before the Sierra County Planning Commission, March 22, 1978, SCPD, Downieville.
72. Dave Carter, "Disney Wants the Governor's Help," *Mountain Messenger,* March 23, 1978.
73. "Statement to Sierra County Planning Commission," March 22, 1978, SCPD, Downieville. Disney questioned the validity of Beal's account which it believed contained many errors and omissions.
74. Ken Payton, "Disney Asks Brown's Assurance on Sierra Resort Plan," *Sacramento Bee,* March 23, 1978.
75. "State, Disney Officials to Talk on Resort Issues," *Los Angeles Times,* April 9, 1978.
76. Sierra Club press release (n.d.).
77. "Disney Officials, Governor Confer," *Mountain Messenger,* May 11, 1978.
78. "Coalition Charges Disney Seeks Special Treatment for Project," *Sacramento Bee,* April 21, 1978.
79. [Nevada City, California: March 1978].
80. *Ibid.,* p. 13.
81. Transcript of CBS broadcast, IV, No. 31 (June 18, 1972), USFS, Sierraville.
82. Robert Hughes, "Disney: Mousebrow to Highbrow," *Time,* CII (October 15, 1973), 88.
83. "Walt Disney World Wins ULI's 1981 Award of Excellence," *Urban Land* XLI (January 1982), 28-29.
84. "Independence Lake," *Bonanza,* XL, No. 4 (May 1978), 1, 4-5, a publication of the Sierra Club's Mother Lode Chapter.
85. Lancaster to Richard Tuthill, Chairman, Sierra County Planning Commission, July 14, 1978; and Tuthill to Lancaster, July 21, 1978, Benner Collection.
86. The future of Independence Lake remains an open question. Early in 1980, a Southern Pacific Land Company spokesman announced that his company was looking actively for a new partner to develop its property. "Southern Pacific Has Development Plan for Independence Lake," *Tahoe World,* February 28, 1980. Also it is possible that Disney may reactivate its proposal. A year-round resort remains a distinct possibility.

The Tree That Crossed A Continent



The cutting crew and others at the base of the giant sequoia called the "General Noble." The tree was to become an exhibit at the 1892 World's Columbian Exposition.

Donald J. McGraw

Nearly a half millenium after Christopher Columbus first landed in the New World, the citizens of America made preparations to celebrate the four hundreth birthday of the discovery. It was the intention of ardent men across the land to assemble a great exposition to demonstrate the achievements of America. The year of the great fair was to be 1891-1892. As is often the case with such gargantuan adventures the sheer weight of the machinery bogged down into the morass of good intentions, and it was not until October of 1892 that Chicago hosted the World's Columbian Exposition, the first "Chicago World's Fair."

A call went out across the country from the Fair committee to states, regions, and counties to prepare exhibitions of local successes to demonstrate to the world the agricultural, industrial, and cultural achievements of America. In a few counties—and in one in particular—the response to this summons was unique. The county of Tulare in east central California chose to send a cut section of a Giant Sequoia tree.[1]

It was not the first time such an unusual exhibit traveled east from California. Indeed, the matter of convincing fair-goers that such tree sections of the immensity common to the Giant Sequoia were real was no mean task. The state had sent a giant sequoia to the nation's centennial fair in 1876, but it had been so shoddily cut and reassembled that the label "California Hoax" had been given to it. This harsh appellation must have prejudiced at least some of the fair-goers, but the new giant from Tulare county was indeed the real article, as is made apparent from existing records.

Though highlights of the story of the Tulare section have been recorded in the past, previously unpublished materials have come to light which we hope will lend this present study more completeness and accuracy. Among the most important of these new materials is a number of unique photographs made of the cutting operation by pioneer photographer C. C. Curtis (see center pages of this article), and several recorded interviews.

In Kern County, California, in 1892, efforts had for some time been underway to select exhibition material for the exposition. In a plan formulated in meetings between Kern and Fresno counties, it had been decided to ask Tulare County to join in a three-county central California exhibit consortium. A communication sent to the interested commission (which was already in existence in Visalia, Tulare County) was received favorably and its secretary responded that it would accept the tri-county invitation.[2] The commission then quickly approached the County Board of Supervisors to request an appropriation of $5,000 in order to prepare

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Dr. Donald J. McGraw's hybrid background in the life sciences and the history of science has led him into a variety of historical investigations. In his capacity as a consultant in the history of science he has performed project work in diverse areas—from the history of antibiotics to that of scientific research in the national parks.

For their many efforts the author wishes to thank Harold Schutt of the Tulare County Historical Society; Robert Truax of the Columbia Historical Society; Doris Randall and Marge Hamlin of the Tulare County Library; the staff of Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks; authors Hank Johnston, Ralph W. Andrews, Kramer Adams; Elbert Little and Paul Spivey of the U.S. Forest Service; Llewelyn Williams, of the Agricultural Research Service; Helena M. Weiss, D. H. Nicolson and Conrad V. Morton of the National Museum of Natural History-Smithsonian Institution; David Mendenhall, Chicago Public Library; Kenneth B. Pomeroy, American Forestry Association; Larry L. Meyer, *Westways* Magazine; the Records Historian, U.S. Army; and Lee S. Motteler, of Rand-McNally and Company.

A rather different edition of this history was first published in the *Proceedings of the First Conference on Scientific Research in the National Parks,* edited by Robert Linn, American Institute of Biological Sciences—National Park Service, 1979, Vol. 1.

a fitting exhibit. The Board took the matter under advisement with a promise to respond within a day or two. Apparently that did not happen, for on July 11, 1892, the *Visalia Daily Times* indicated that it had reminded the Board and others who read the newspaper that "the matter [of the appropriation] must not be dropped and all persons who have the welfare of the county at heart should give the matter their aid and attention."[3] The editors went on to suggest a petition be circulated to urge action on the part of the Board.

Several petitions were indeed circulated—but all in *opposition* to the appropriation! The *Times* editors remarked that the matter "seems to have settled itself down to a one-sided question."[4] Yet, inexplicably, the matter was reversed by late July and early August when a long series of newspaper articles, not only in the *Times,* but in other local dailies, began discussions on the Giant Sequoia that had been selected for the exhibit. Other evidence indicates that not $5,000 but $15,000 was actually appropriated.[5] How this change came about remains a mystery.

The actual exhibit tree—called the General Noble—was selected, after at least some debate, as the one to represent Tulare County in Chicago. It is an interesting aside that the tree itself was not actually within the confines of the county boundary lines of Tulare, but slightly to the north in Fresno County. Evidently this never led to any acrimony. The tree was to represent only Tulare County and was not part of the tri-county consortium. As a group, the three counties exhibited various agricultural products.

The name General Noble, like the names of so many other famous Giant Sequoias, recognized a military leader from the period of the War between the States. The Nobel was apparently the namesake of John Willock Noble (1831-1912), soldier; lawyer, and finally Secretary of the Interior. A native of Lancaster, Ohio, there is no evidence he ever saw the tree in its native environs. Whether he ever saw it at all or even knew of its existence as an exhibit at the

Another view of the gathered men and supplies at the base of the General Noble. Some can also be seen in the preceding photograph.

fair is equally unknown. However, the exhibit section held the most prominent place in the most notable building at the fair, the United States Government Building. Therefore, it would not seem surprising to surmise that Nobel saw it, or was, at least, aware of the section. The official history written on the fair calls the tree section the John W. Noble tree,[6] and it is a fact that Noble, as Interior Secretary, strongly supported the American Forestry Association in regard to land law revisions in 1891.[7] Who named the tree for him and when is not known.*

On August 12, 1892, the first of three cross-cuts was made into the General Noble and its existence as an exhibit for the next thirty-nine years was established, although, of course, its existence as a living thing came sadly to a halt.[8] Its story is not unlike that of other giant trees that were felled for exhibit or profit. What took nature thousands of years to create was destroyed by man in mere moments. Today all that remains is the stump of the Noble, badly scorched by a major, man-caused forest fire in 1955. In the Sequoia National Forest, just five and a half miles by road north of General Grant Grove, Kings Canyon National Park, one can visit the "Chicago Stump," as it is now called.

The skepticism greeting the appearance of the 1876 centennial "hoax" was not to be heard in 1893. Several factors must account for that. Many more people had seen the great trees in their native habitat by the 1890s than by 1876. Of more importance, however, was the photographic evidence provided by Curtis. A third factor was also responsible for the belief that the exhibit was not a hoax: the Noble section was very carefully prepared as compared to the Centennial tree.[9]

The General Noble grew on a piece of land in a magnificent Sequoia Grove known as the Converse Basin. The land was owned by the U.S. Government and was a forest reserve. However, since a contract for sequoia cutting operations was held for that area by the Smith and Moore Company; they in effect owned the Noble. The World's Fair Commission of Visalia purchased the Noble for $5,000 from Smith and Moore, who opened contract bids to cut and haul the sections. The successful bidder was a Mr. Burr Mitchell of the nearby village of Miramonte.[10] Since very few roads existed (even by 1892) in that heavily lumbered basin, a contract to build a wagon road to haul out the sections was granted Mr. R. Ball of LeGrand, California, by Smith and Moore.[11] The road cost $1,500.[12] When the road was complete, it was possible to haul the sections to the valley hamlet of Monson, which was the railhead. What happened to the money remaining from the initial $15,000 is not clear.

The first cut made that mid-August was fifty-two feet above the level of the ground, according to most reports.[13] A local surveyor, Fred Beraria, had made extensive studies of the tree and indicated that the diameter at fifty-two feet was nineteen feet six inches.[14] Although sequoias are routinely cut some distance above the ground to avoid the so-called "butt swell" at their bases, the matter of fifty-two feet might seem excessive. That height was chosen, however, to preserve for exhibit the considerable quality material below that level and above the swell.

Though a number of men were present during the cutting, only five were actually involved in felling

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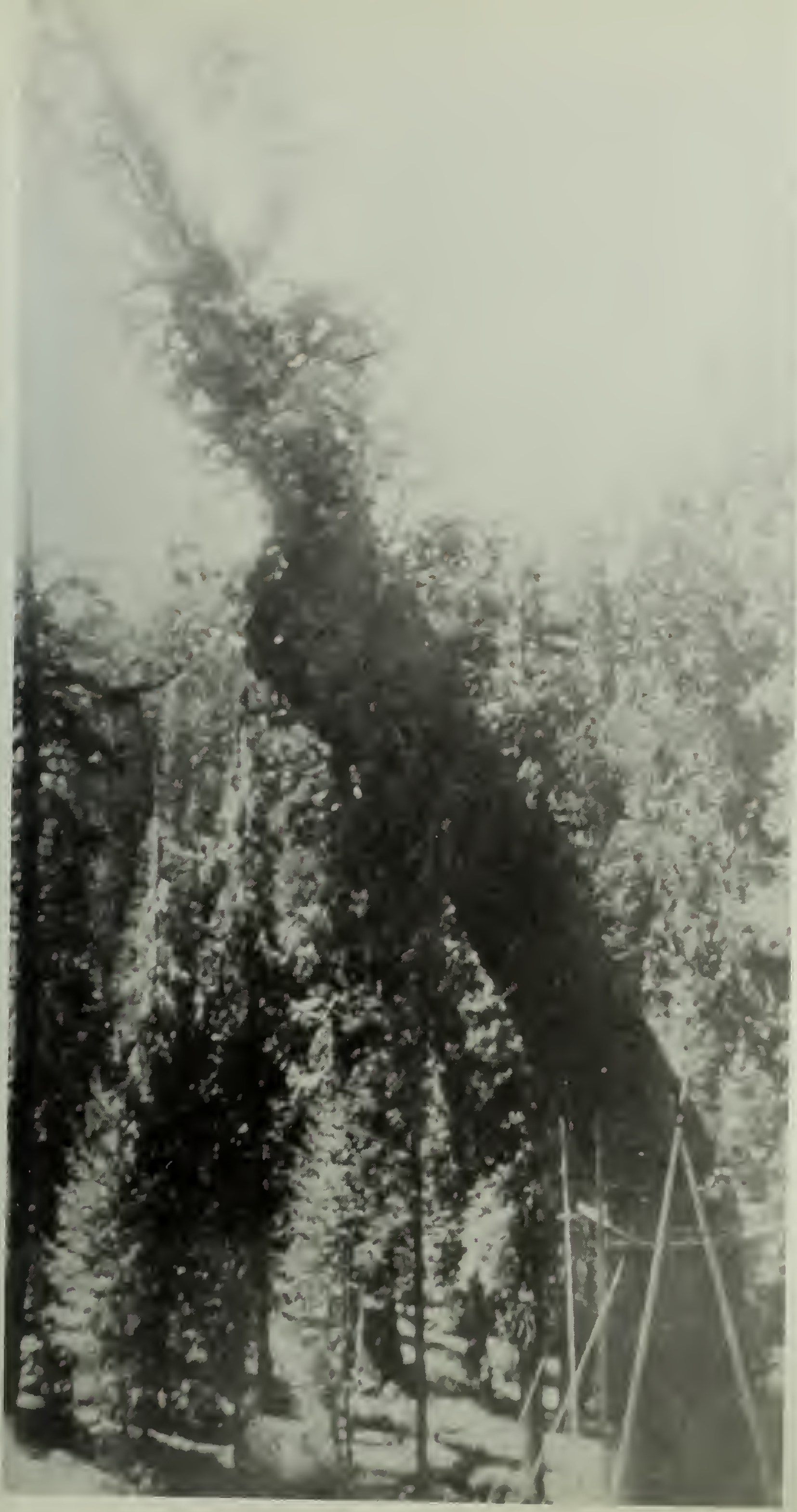
*Most trees named for generals were so named by men who fought under them during the War Between the States and who later came west, often seeking adventure and fortune in the Sierra Nevadan lumbering enterprises. But no other tree within several miles of the Noble was named after a general in the 1860s to 1880s. It is this author's impression that the Noble was so christened only shortly before the cutting, and was not named by veterans but by local lumbermen.

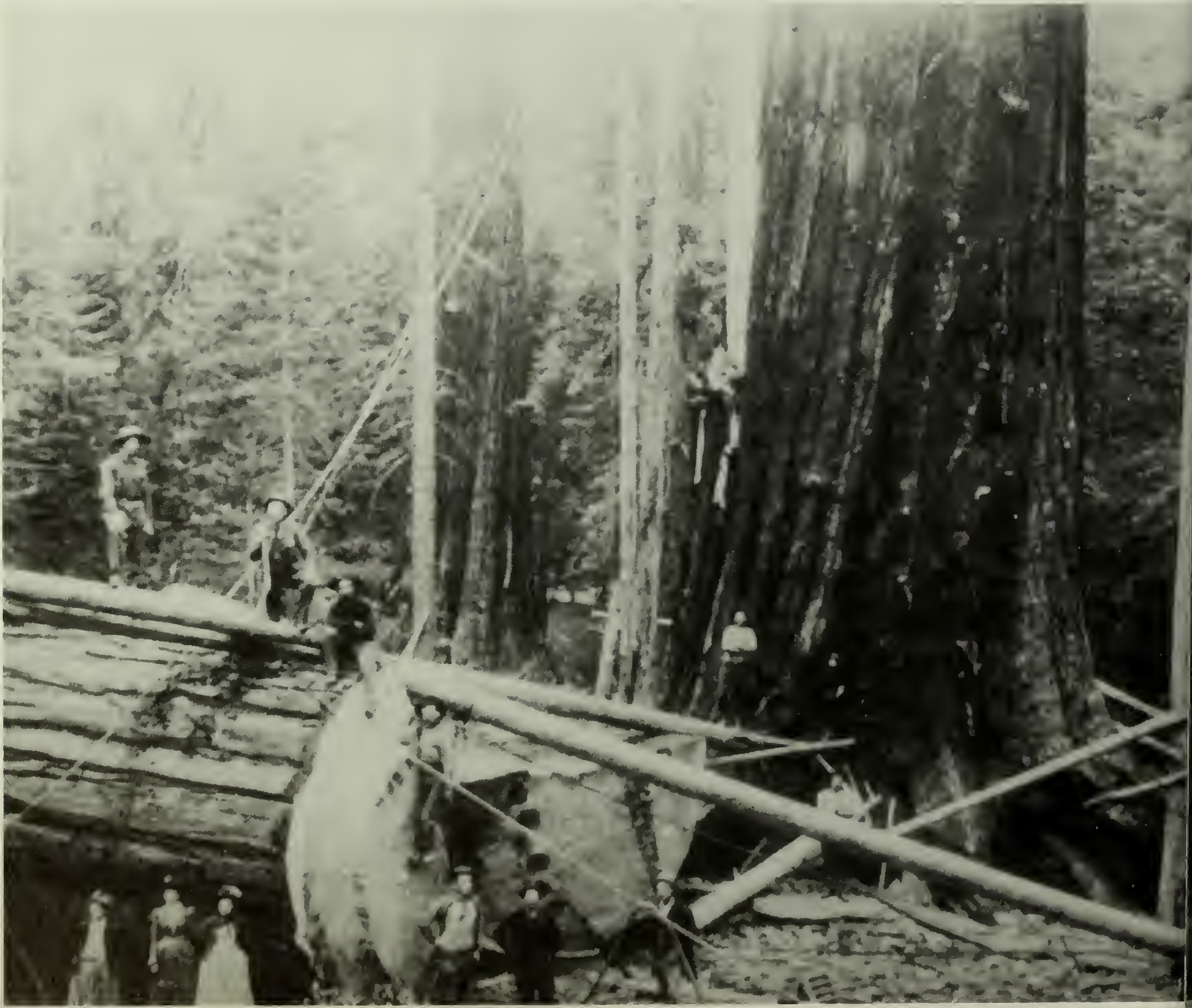
The Felling of a Giant

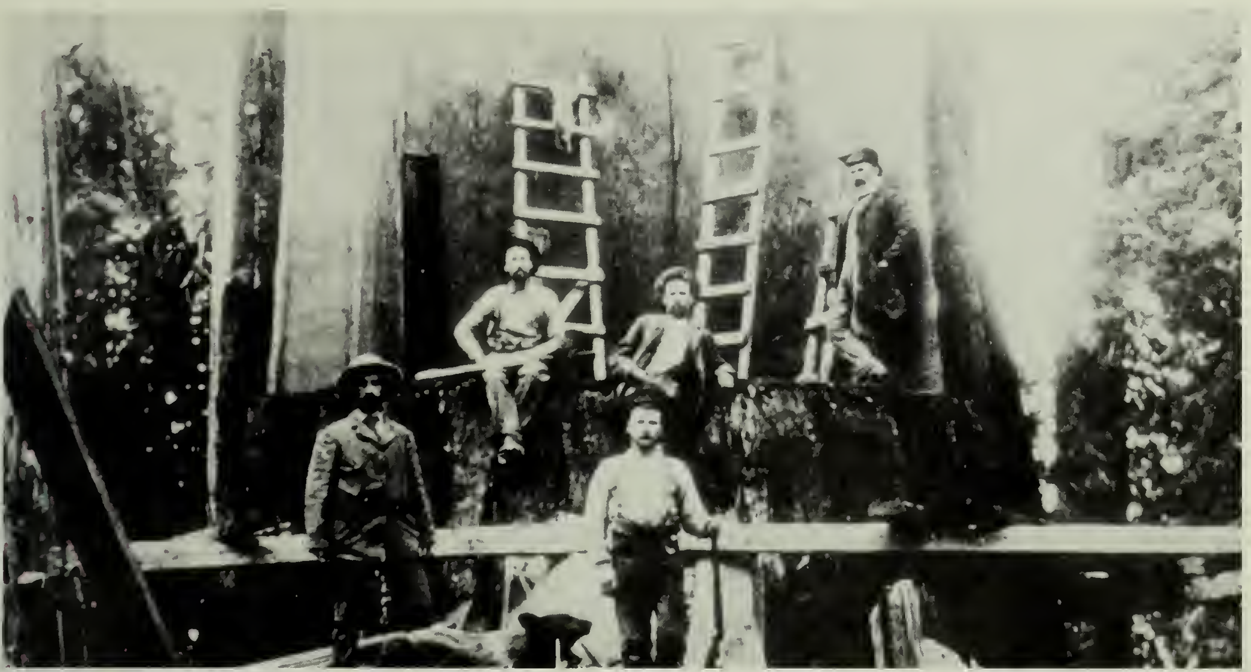
Opposite page: Initial scaffolding prior to first cut. Platform is at fifty-two feet above ground level. The men are not identified, but it is possible that the woman at top is Charles Curtis' wife.



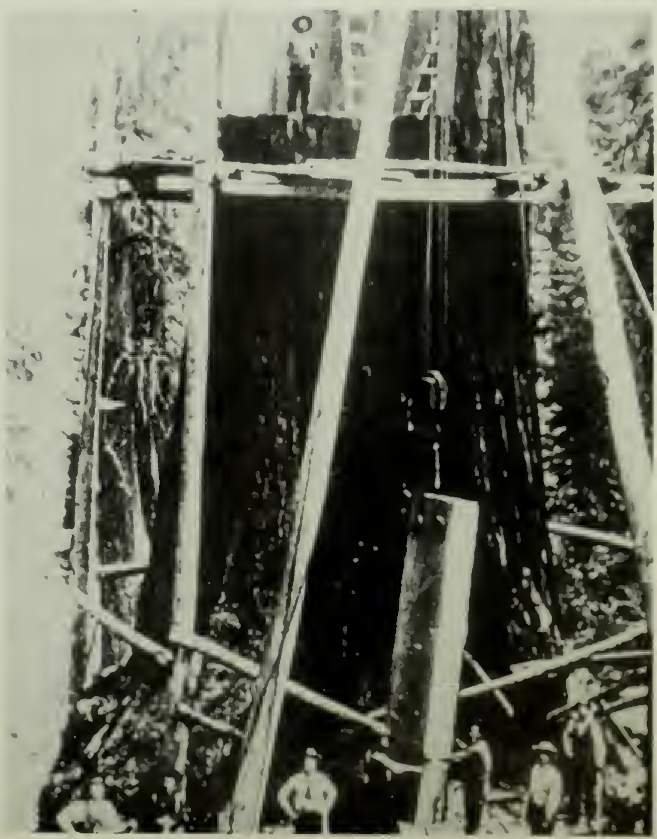
The actual Fall of the Noble. Although this reproduction is not of good quality, it is apparent that the original photograph was very well done. To catch a tree in the act of falling without a blur on the older, slow-speed films was the mark of a first-rate photographer.

A view of the upper portion of the Noble as it lay on the ground (lower left). The great split later to be "patched" can be seen on the left side of the tall stump (right of center).

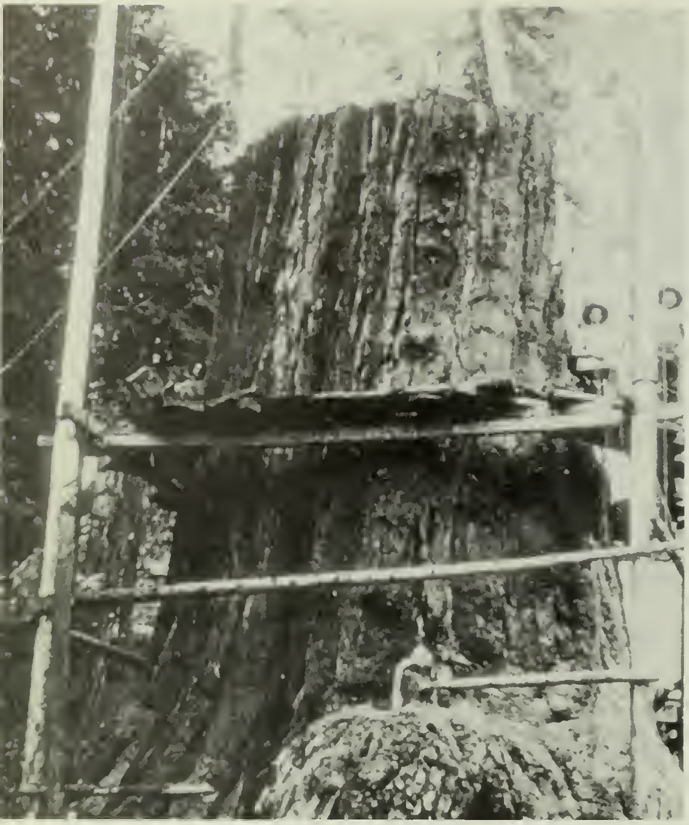




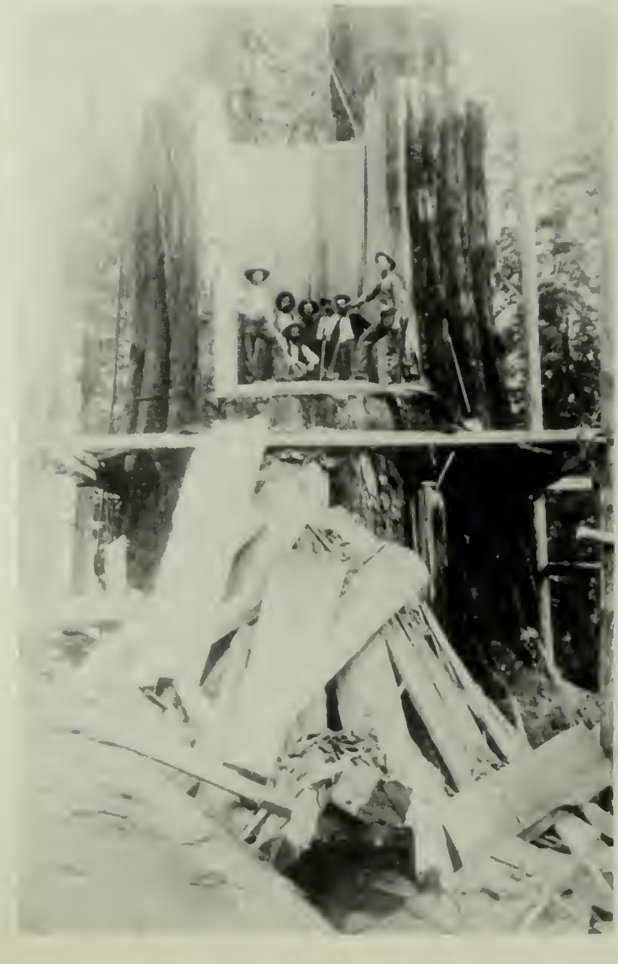
Time out for a bear hunt. Note slain American Black Bear at lower center. The men are not identified, but hunter (with rifle) may be Creed Archer.



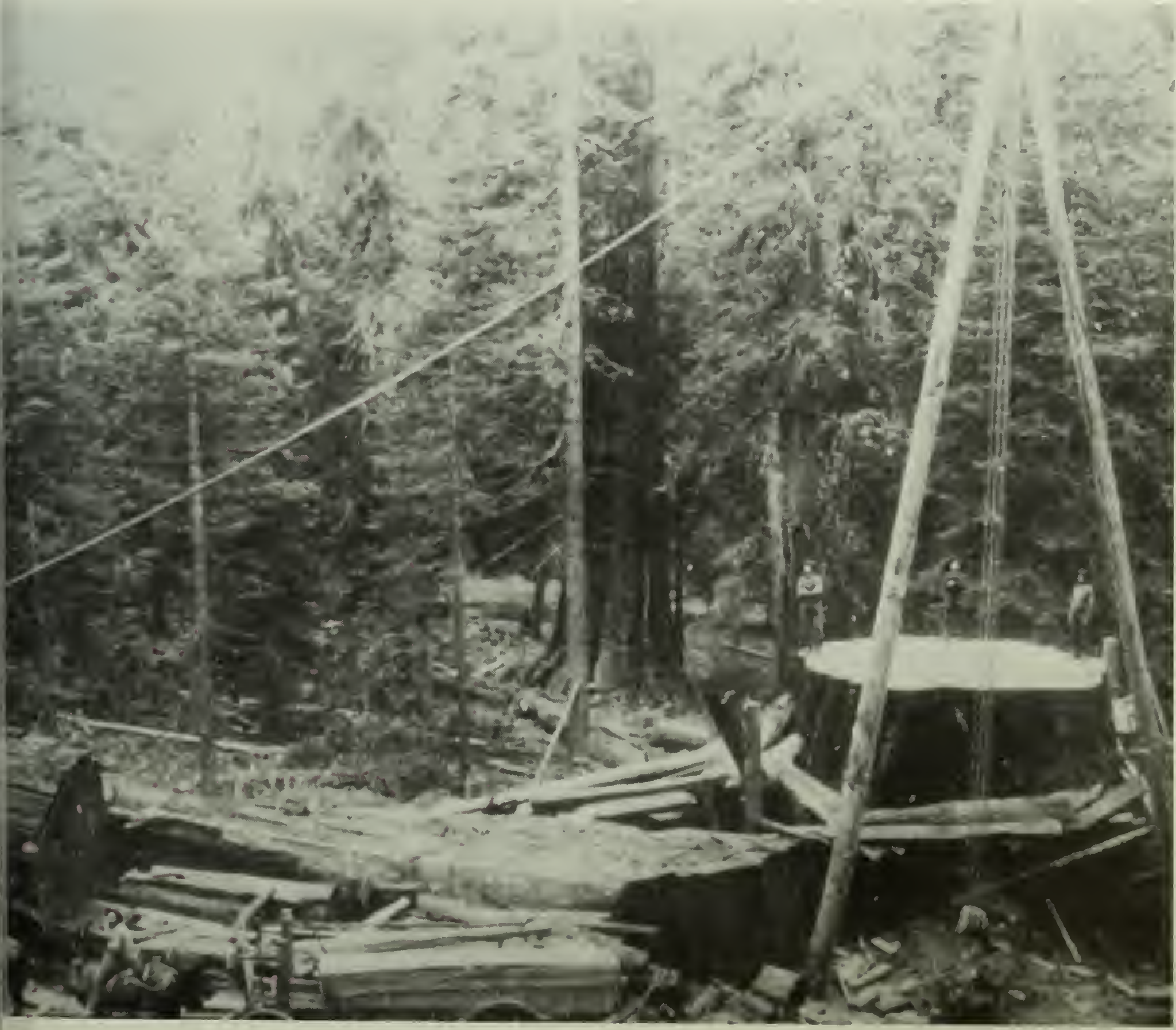
Hollowing and sectioning the "upper room" (top). Note careful handling of exhibit section on end of winch line.



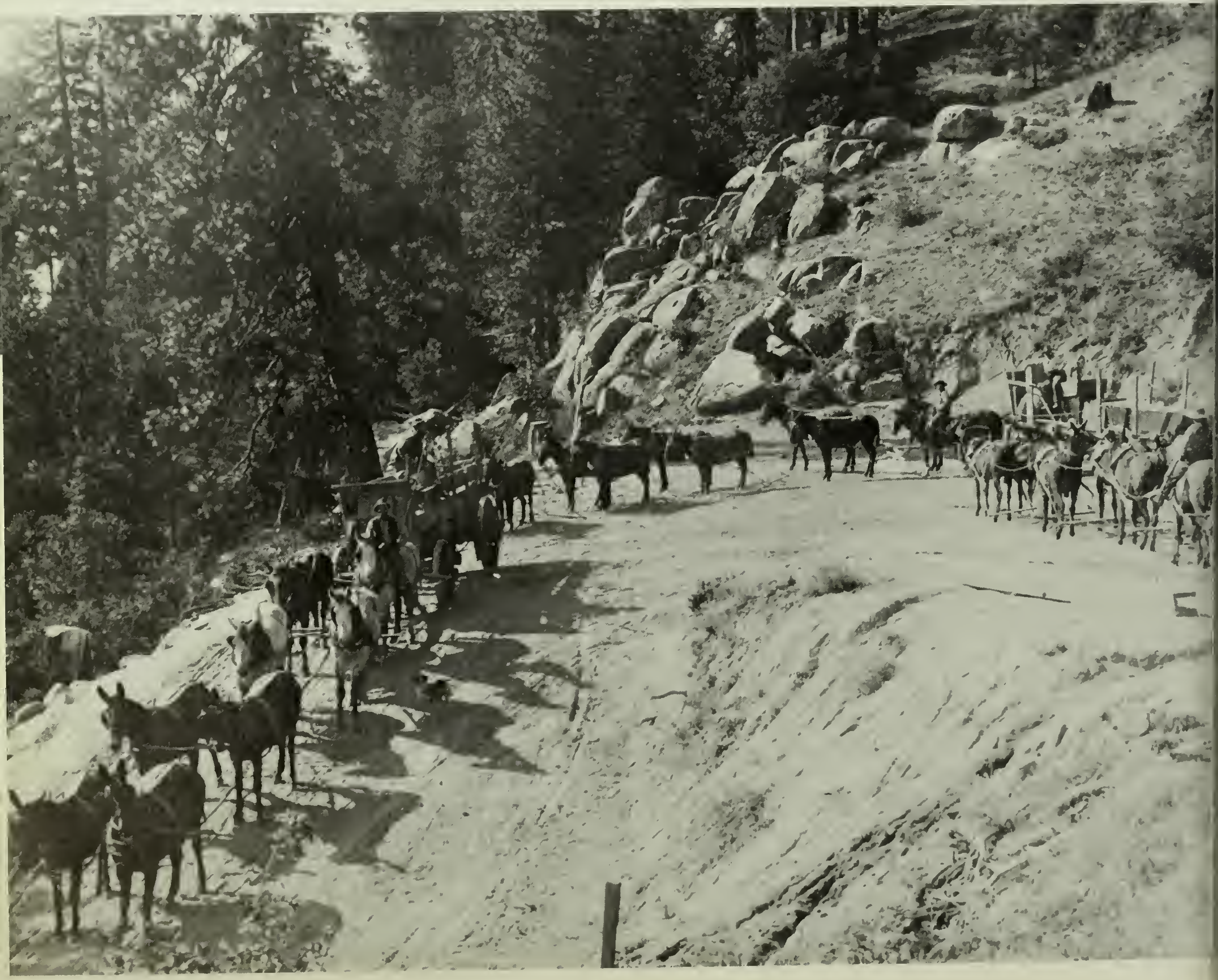
The wheel section (floor of "upper room") has been removed. The platform is in the third, or lowest, position preparatory to cutting sections of the "lower room" of the exhibit. This picture, printed backwards, shows the split on the right side of the trunk above one man's head. In the view at right, men stand inside the "lower room."



The last wagon (bottom left) leaves with exhibit section and the cutting is complete.



Wagons with sections move down the specially constructed road on the way to the railhead.



the tree. Burr Mitchell, Will Irwin, Dayton Dickey and Jesse Pattee were involved as workers. Pattee (d. 1951) indicated that a "Captain" Jamison[15] was the foreman.[16] The story of the cutting, which took thirteen days, has been given in short sketches in Gray, the *Historical Bulletin,*[17] in a variety of contemporary newspaper articles, and in some more recent publications such as Ralph Andrews' *Redwood Classic.*[18] Not previously available in its entirety, however, is the text of a wire-recorded interview with Jesse Pattee done some years ago.[19] A similar interview with C. C. Curtis is also enlightening.[20] A blending of these sources makes the story both more complete and more vivid, but no less factual.

Jamison himself did not actually handle any cutting tools; only Pattee and his three colleagues did. Pattee remembers that "two Scotsmen, riggers from San Francisco, helped with scaffolds and ropework." Their names are unrecorded. As the main portion of the tree toppled from the first cut it was expected to clear the tall stump with no difficulties. Indeed, a considerable number of falling wedges were inserted (by Mitchell) in the saw cut to assure a clean fall. But such a fall did not occur. The massive bulk of the tree slipped back upon the stump and smashed the scaffolding, leaving no apparent escape route for Pattee and his partner at that dangerous moment. As the tree fell the two men jumped onto the tall stump as their only avenue of escape. They lay there face down, arms and legs spread, for a period of twenty minutes. It took that long for the tremors to cease before they could stand upright!—or so the story goes. The uneven fall broke off a large portion of bark and sapwood from the intended exhibit material below the cut. Curtis recorded that splintered piece on film, but it is believed that the photograph is no longer in existence. Pattee said that the crew decided to "patch" on the splinter and "no one seemed to notice [it] at Chicago or anywhere else."[21] The repair was a tribute to the lumberjacks, for it was just such patching of even the properly cut parts on the 1876 tree that was so shoddy as to leave the impression of a hoax.

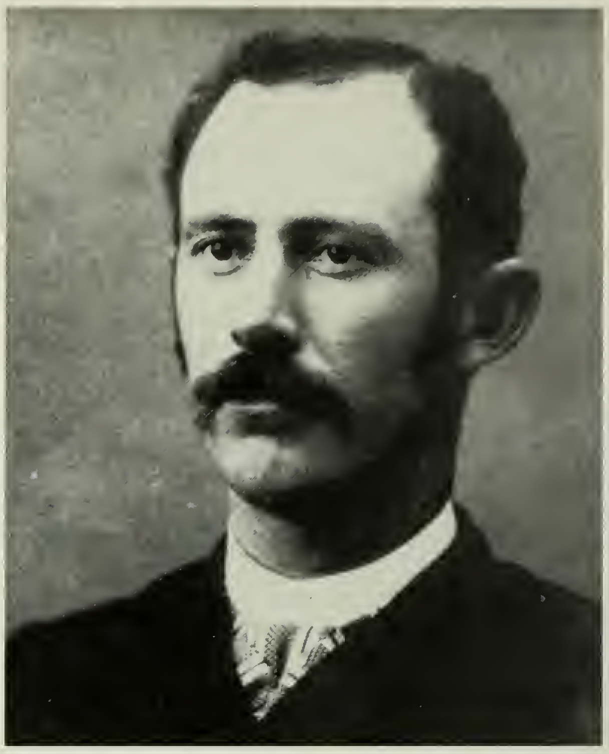
The next step was to remove staves of bark and sapwood, each fourteen feet in length. The interior (heartwood) of the stump was hollowed out and, according to Pattee, discarded. Pattee indicated that the sections were marked with a pattern of nails driven into each section. This facilitated reassembly in Chicago, but by whom it is not known.

After the staves were removed, a fresh stump surface thirty-eight feet above the ground existed. A two-foot-thick wheel (circular) section was removed in pie-wedge pieces. This became the floor for the upper "room" of the final two-story high exhibit. Another fourteen feet of staves were removed. This finally yielded two rooms, one above the other and each with fourteen-foot high walls. The upper room had a two-foot thick floor. The lower room had a ceiling, but the upper room was without one.

Mr. Ball (builder of the wagon road) hauled the carefully labeled and crated sections from the Converse Basin to the rail line at Monson. There the boxes were shipped to Chicago. No shipping date is known, but it may have been about August 25, 1892, or some time thereafter. The entire operation was recorded masterfully by Curtis, whose story in regard to the project is a poignant one.

A native of Marshalltown, Iowa, Charles Curtis (dates believed to be 1862-1955) first came to California in 1881.[22] He joined a photography studio in Hanford, California, in 1884 and became a partner with a man named Tandy who had advertised for an apprentice to learn the photographic trade. Shortly thereafter, Curtis joined the now-famous Kaweah Colony, one of several well-known experiments in

Charles C. Curtis made an agreement just prior to the cutting of the Noble to photograph the entire process. He said it was "no firm deal."



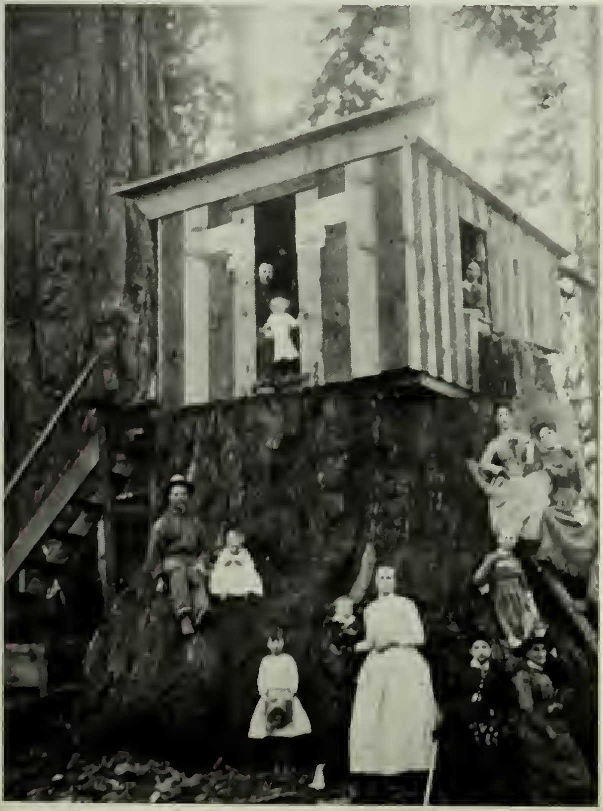
socialism in the United States during the nineteenth century. Headquartered at Visalia, the colony sought to cut timber, including Giant Sequoias, in the area of Giant Forest in what soon came to be known as Sequoia National Park. The federal proclamation creating the Park in 1890 forestalled the cutting plans. The colony dissolved not long afterward.[23] Thereafter, for eleven summer seasons, Curtis did photographic work in the sequoia forests of the High Sierra in and near what is now Kings Canyon and Sequoia National Parks. Additionally, he engaged in such work in a variety of nearby valley communities.

Just prior to the cutting of the Noble, Curtis made an agreement with Smith and Moore to photograph the entire process. It was "no firm deal," he said,[24] but the loose contract did ensure him funds to develop and produce "thousands of [photographic] prints." Upon completion of the field work and preparation of prints, he went to the fairgrounds in Chicago with the intention of selling copies to fair visitors. His discovery that only one Chicago-based firm (The Werner Company) had sole photographic concession rights came as a rude shock. It was possible, though, to obtain a sales license from that company for $250 per sales booth and twenty-five percent of the gross receipts.[25] The amount was beyond his means and so he telegraphed Smith and Moore at their corporate headquarters in San Francisco. He received no reply for several days, and then read in a Chicago newspaper the saddening news that the Smith and Moore Company had failed.[26] However, a corporate biographer of Smith and Moore, Hank Johnston, does not provide evidence to support Curtis' recollection.[27] The company was in financial distress in 1892–4, however, but did not fail outright. What actually happened between Curtis and Smith and Moore over his funding request remains yet another mystery.

In desperation Curtis turned to the Werner Company, holders of the exclusive concession rights, and sold "two or three thousand prints" to them.[28] By that time his ready cash had ebbed to the point that he sought a loan from one of his distant relatives living in Chicago. The loan was sufficient only to get him back to California.[29]

Soon after his return, he read a newspaper article concerning a great warehouse fire in Chicago. It was the Werner warehouse wherein all his prints (though not negatives) were stored. The company had no insurance. About that time some unknown individual offered Curtis $3,000 for the Noble negatives, but on the basis of the loose contract with Smith and Moore, Smith disallowed the sale.[30]

The demoralized Curtis moved to the Kettleman Plains on the west side of California's great Central Valley where he owned 160 acres of land. He had previously purchased the land just after the Kaweah Colony failed near Sequoia National Park. He photographed the grain harvests there, but lost what little money he had. His health began to fail as well. He moved northward to San Jose, California and took a laborer's position in a spice mill there in 1899. He hid a great number of photographic negatives under some floor boards in the mill building.[31] Soon thereafter he moved to nearby San Francisco. In that city he worked at the J. A. Folger Company, coffee importers. He was credited with being one of the four men who helped save the Folger Mill from burning during the great earthquake and fire of 1906. Shortly after the holocaust he learned that the San



The home of Charles Curtis and his family while recording the Noble cutting. The house is built upon a sequoia stump. Curtis is looking out the window with a daughter by his side.

Jose spice mill was to be razed. He was able to recover the negatives without incident, however.[32]

Curtis passed the remainder of his life first in Berkeley, and then later, Pasadena, California. Little more has been published on his life than that related above. His role in the history of western Americana and in photography is a story yet to be told.

The camera he employed was a monstrosity of forty-five pounds and used glass negative plates measuring eight by ten inches. To develop the negatives Curtis awaited nightfall and worked under a red lantern. The prints were made on albumin paper which had been sensitized by silver nitrate solution.[33]

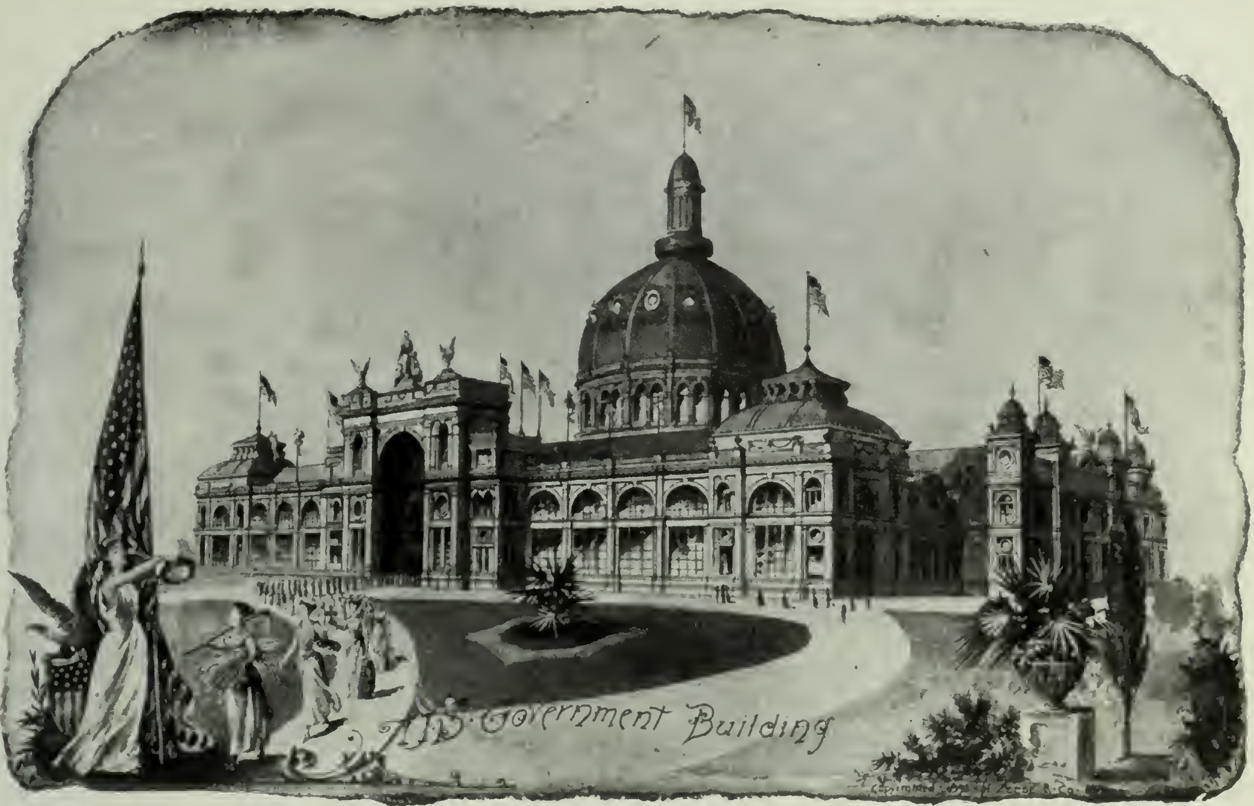
The series of photographs accompanying this article are, to the author's knowledge, all of the pictures still extant taken by Curtis of the Noble cutting. Each picture is described separately in the figure legends. Ralph Andrews has indicated in his *Redwood Classic* that all pictures of the cutting operation are published in his work (1958), but this is not the case. Curtis has said that he took eighteen pictures of the operation.[34] Andrews shows considerably fewer. The present work is not complete either, but is believed to be as complete as is now possible. Curtis has indicated implicitly that he provided Harold Schutt of the Tulare County Historical Society with copies of all remaining views.[35] These and other photographs accompany this article.

Although the history of the World's Columbian Exposition has been best treated by Truman,[36] it was in the pages of the *Visalia Daily Times* that one felt the most fervor of the period. The *Times* began a two-year series on happenings at the "World's Fair" on July 2, 1892. The paper reported that not only would a great many exhibits be in the California Building, but the Noble section would have the distinction of standing in the great rotunda of the United States Government Building—surely a distinct honor.

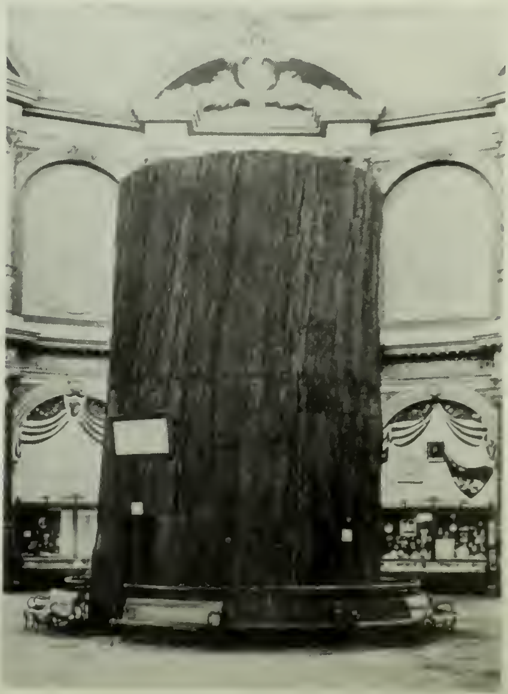
On October 20, 1892—nearly a year later than originally planned—"an immense parade" of more than 50,000 participants opened the World's Columbian Exposition. Newspaper accounts in Tulare County indicate that considerable excitement had been generated by the Fair. Local merchants capitalized on the event in a variety of ways. Merchants S. Sweet and Company in Visalia offered hard bound books *(The Columbian World's Fair Atlas)* to their customers free of charge.[37] Tulare County residents were exhorted to see the fair and their county exhibit in person by purchasing a ticket on the Santa Fe route. The exhortation in part reads:

> Ho For Chicago!
> How to get to the World's Fair is the question
> The railroads want $100
> for the round trip ticket
> and there are many people
> in Tulare County who will
> have to stay at home. This
> will be too bad for everything
> worth seeing in the civilized
> world will be on exhibition in
> the windy city . . . [38]

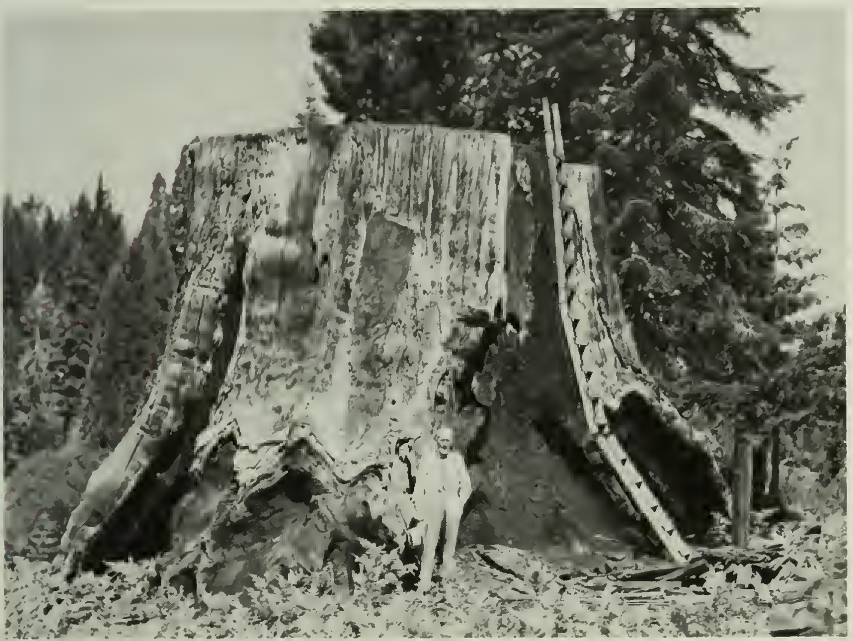
Therefore, one had only to contact the *Visalia Daily Times* office to find out how, for three weeks' labor (doing what was not specified), one could earn enough money for the trip. So it was in Visalia and across the country: Ho for Chicago. How many Visalia residents or other fair-goers ever saw the Noble remains unknown.[39] The fair passed into American history and in most instances the exhibits went back to their respective states. The Noble section, however was destined for another, rather bizarre, fate.


U.S. Government Building

Above, the U.S. Government Building at the World's Columbian Exposition. The Noble exhibit (right) as it appeared in the rotunda of the building.



The Noble exhibit as it appeared while on the Mall in Washington D.C. Note the cupola-bearing roof which at first protected visitors to its interior and later the stored lawn-care tools. The photograph was taken in 1915.



The Noble tree stump ("Chicago Stump") in 1950 with Jesse Pattee in foreground. Note that the bark has almost completely sloughed off.

At the close of the Fair in 1893, the Noble was moved (by whom, by whose orders, or exactly when, are unknown) to Washington, D.C. There, on a concrete slab poured for the purpose, stood the Noble Tree section from 1893 until 1932. With a cupola roof it hosted visitors for many years. But, sometime prior to 1932, its spiral staircase was condemned and the whole exhibit closed to public use.

For several more years the section held implements used by federal employees in their lawn work near the original Department of Agriculture building. The Noble stood near the northwest corner of Independence Avenue and Twelfth Street, Southwest, on the Mall proper. Various guidebooks of the day noted it.[40]

"The Rambler" (columnist Harry Shannon) in the October 31, 1915, issue of the Washington *Sunday Star* said:

> The old redwood tree trunk which has stood in the [Agriculture] grounds since mature men and women of Washington were boys and girls, has taken on a mantle of ivy. Few persons pass this old relic without stopping to examine it and at least pay it the tribute of a glance, and this long dead tree is one of the most frequently photographed objects in the Capitol.

Several years later it was a central picture in the artgravure section of the *Washington Post*.[41]

In 1932, for unknown reasons, it was dismantled and placed in storage in a steel shed at the United States Department of Agriculture Experiment Farm in Arlington, Virginia. In 1952, a manager of the Pacific Lumber Company of San Francisco wrote the National Park Service (NPS), inquiring about the disposition of an exhibit section which he surmised was a tree that was cut in 1854. The NPS seemed uninformed in 1952 about the Noble, and directed the letter to David Lynn, then Architect of the Capitol. He seemed as poorly informed, but believed the Noble had been moved to Beltsville, Maryland, when the Experiment Farm land was transferred to the Army for war use. This has never been substantiated.[42]

In 1956, W. D. McClellan, a native of Tulare County and employed at the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) in Washington stated

> I have talked with several men at Beltsville who were acquainted with the Sequoia tree . . . Jimmy Taylor our greenhouse foreman, Joe Rhodes and Johnny Alexander our two fieldmen, were all familiar with it. They said they used it for tool storage . . . After removal from [the Mall] to Arlington Farm it was enclosed in sheet metal. None of these men know of any order for moving it when [the Farm] was taken over by the Armed Forces for [construction of] the Pentagon. Rhodes and Alexander were the last two men to move material from Arlington Farm to Beltsville.
>
> Just by chance I did talk with a man at Beltsville who had just previously been told of the final disposition of the tree. It seems that the Colonel [in charge of the move] called someone in Beltsville [at USDA] asking what they wanted done with the tree. This Colonel was told to forget he had asked the question and to use his own judgement. What he did I don't know but the tree may be buried under the Pentagon to be unearthed by some future archeologists who will speculate on the finding of a Sequoia Gigantia [sic] in that location![43]

It seems an inglorious end for such a noble tree, a fate that has been shared in one way or another by far too many of these magnificent trees. One can seek, this writer supposes, at least one consolation, in the fact that, in symbolizing something of America's natural greatness, the Noble served an important educational purpose through its long journey. It has become part of the American Odyssey.

Photographs on pages 120, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129 and 137 are courtesy of the Tulare County Historical Society, Harold Schutt Collection. Those appearing on pages 130, 132 and 133 are reproduced from Ralph W. Andrews *Redwood Classic.* The view of the U.S. Government Building is from Ben C. Truman, *History of the World's Fair.* The photograph of the Noble exhibit on page 135 first appeared in a German language guide to the fair. It is of unknown origin. The second photograph of the Noble exhibit, on the Mall, is courtesy of the Columbia Historical Society.

Notes

1. The scientific name of the Giant Sequoia is *Sequoiadendron giganteum.* See R. J. Hartesveldt, *et al., The Giant Sequoia of the Sierra Nevada* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 24.
2. Article, *Visalia Daily Times,* June 7, 1892, p. 2.
3. Article, *Visalia Daily Times,* June 11, 1892, p. 1.
4. Article, *Visalia Daily Times,* July 25, 1892, p. 2.
5. Fern Gray, *And the Giants Were Named* (Three Rivers, California: Sequoia National History Association, n.d.), p. 12.
6. Maj. Ben C. Truman, *History of the World's Fair* (Chicago: Monarch Book Co., 1893).
7. Dumas Malone, ed., *The Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Scribners, 1934), p. 539ff.
8. The date of August 12 has never been published elsewhere but is established by an article in the *Visalia Daily Times,* August 13, 1892, p. 1.
9. *Historical Bulletin* (Visalia, California: Tulare County Historical Society, October, 1950), No. 6. This *Bulletin* remains the most authoritative source on Giant Sequoia exhibitions. See esp., p. 1-6.
10. Gray, *Giants Named* and *Bulletin,* p. 1.
11. Gray, *Giants Named.*
12. Article, *Visalia Daily Times,* August 13, 1892, p. 1.
13. Gray, *Giants Named* and *Fresno Weekly Republican,* August 19, 1892, p. 8. However, others set the height at fifty feet. See *Bulletin,* p. 1.
14. Gray, *Giants Named.*
15. The U.S. Army has no records of a Captain Jamison, and no other sources discuss him. His identity has remained a mystery. All others mentioned above and in the figures were local lumberjacks or, in Mitchell's case, a local landowner-lumberjack.
16. Harold Schutt, transcript of a wire-recorder interview with Jesse Pattee, February 17, 1947. Xerographic copy of transcript in author's file.

17. *Bulletin.*
18. Ralph W. Andrews, *Redwood Classic* (New York: Bonanza, 1958), p. 109
19. Schutt, transcript.
20. The transcript of an interview with C. C. Curtis done by J. R. Challacombe, no date, a popular expositor on sequoia lore, was provided to the author by Harold Schutt. Xerographic copy in author's files.
21. Challacombe, transcript.
22. In *Redwood Classic,* Andrews states (p. 109) that Curtis came to California prior to 1880. This is apparently derived from an interview with one of Curtis' daughters conducted by Andrews. This seems in error as Curtis himself has stated, at least twice, that the year was 1881. The corroboration is in the interview with Curtis by Challacombe and in a letter from Curtis to Schutt in 1950. Neither of these sources was available to Andrews.
23. The history of the colony has been treated in several publications, but see Douglas Hillman Strong *Trees or Timber* (Three Rivers, California: Sequoia Natural History Association, n.d.), p. 22ff.
24. Challacombe, transcript.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. Hank Johnston, *They Felled the Redwoods* (Los Angeles: Trans-Anglo Books, 1966), p. 24.
28. Challacombe, transcript.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. Andrews *Classic,* p. 109, and Challacombe, transcript.
32. Andrews, *Classic,* p. 109.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Schutt, 1950 letter, and Challacombe, transcript.
35. Schutt, 1950 letter
36. Truman, *History*.
37. Advertisement and copperplate, *Visalia Daily Times,* January 12, ff, 1893, p. 3.
38. Advertisement and copperplate, *Visalia Daily Times,* August 2, ff, 1893, p. 3.
39. In addition to the 8,000 half pound boxes of raisins given out by Fresno County exhibitors during the Fair, they also displayed a mysterious statuette. Carved by "a young Italian" in the likeness of Mercury, the statue was said to have been from wood taken from the Noble. A picture of such a sequoia-wood statuette exists in the files of Grant Grove, Kings Canyon National Park (and in the author's collection), but its origin is unknown. As well, the identity of the "young Italian" remains mysterious. *Report of the World's Fair Commission* (San Francisco: State of California, 1893), p. 43.
40. For example, a variety of Rand-McNally Guidebooks of the Capitol mention it, viz., "A tower in the garden, composed of slabs with their foot thick bark from one of the giant trees (Sequoia) of California, should not be neglected, for it represents the exact size of the huge tree, General Noble, from which the pieces were cut" (1900 edition; same wording for next fifteen yearly editions). Also, it is shown in map form in *What there is to See in the United States Department of Agriculture* (Washington, D.C.: U.S.D.A., ca. 1922), p. 6, and map (unnumbered pg.)
41. Article and photograph, *Washington Post,* March 13, 1921, artgravure section.
42. Edric E. Brown, letter to Director, NPS, January 11, 1952; and David Lynn letter to Edric C. Brown, November 6, 1952. Xerographic copies in author's files from originals in files of Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.
43. W.D. McClellan, in a letter from him quoted in *Los Tulares* (successor to the *Historical Bulletin*), *Quarterly Bulletin of the Tulare County Historical Society,* No. 26, March 1, 1956, p. 2.

REVIEWS

W. Michael Mathes, *Reviews Editor*

Sylvia Arden

The San Diego Historical Society Research Archives

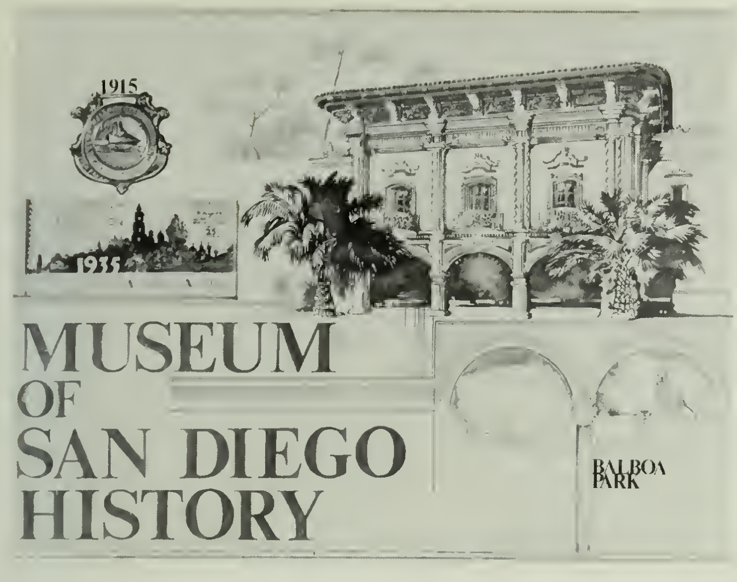
Bulging at the seams with collections at several locations around the city, the San Diego Historical Society is busy completing a spacious Research Archives in the lower floor of the new Museum of San Diego History in the rebuilt "Electric" building in Balboa Park. In a few months, the remarkable collections of the Society will finally be housed in one location, making available to researchers the most important and complete Research Archives on the history of San Diego County.

Presently, a large portion of the Historical Society's library is housed in the Junípero Serra Museum in Presidio Park. The library and manuscripts collection was a prime consideration set forth in the Articles of Incorporation when the Society was incorporated December 14, 1928: ". . . for the discovery, collection and preservation of books, pamphlets, maps, genealogies, portraits, paintings, relics, manuscripts, letters, journals, surveys, field books, and any and all other books, articles or materials which may establish or illustrate the history of Western America, particularly the County of San Diego and the State of California, and the publication and dissemination of such historical matter as this corporation may authorize."

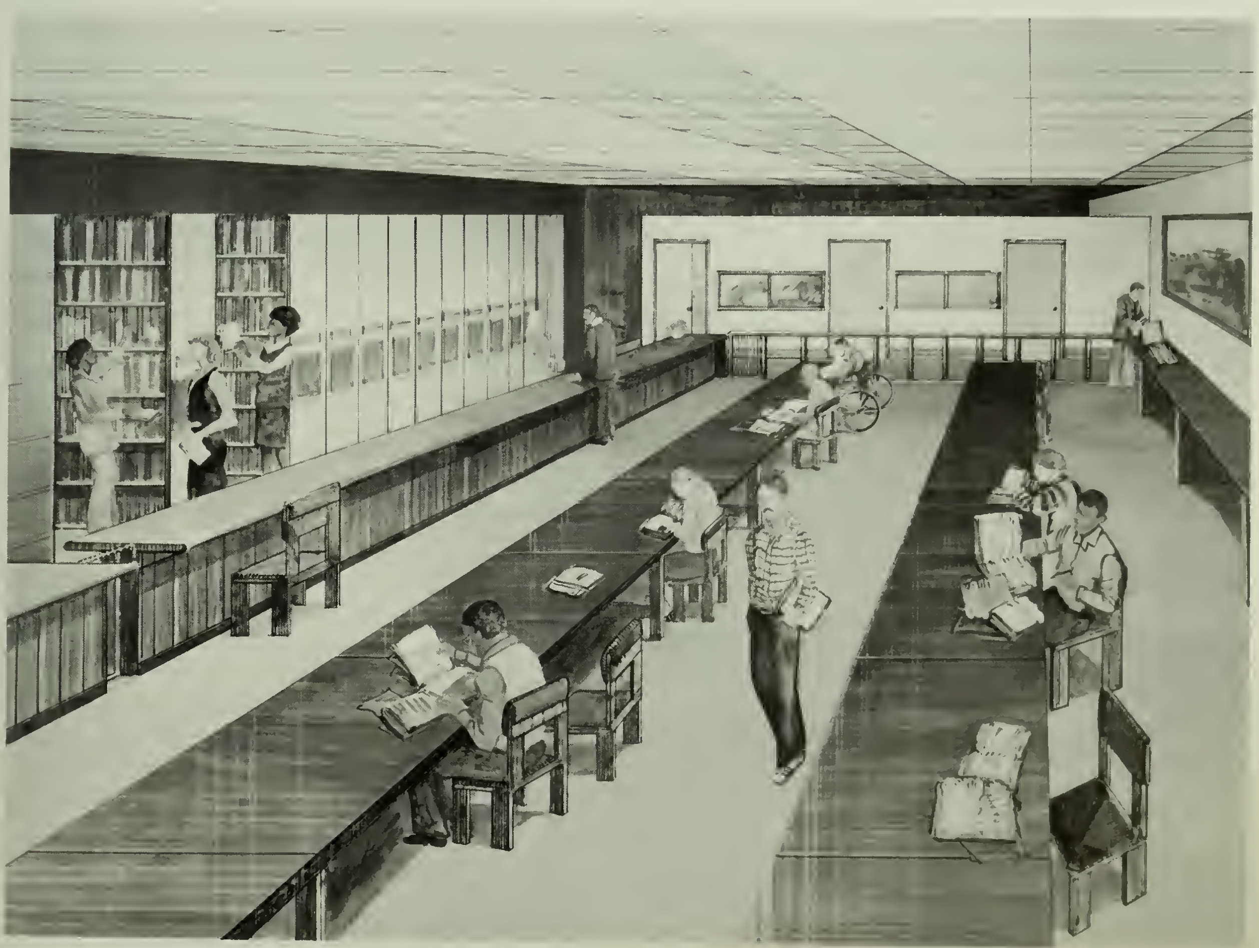
George W. Marston, founder and first president of the San Diego Historical Society, presented the Serra Museum and the surrounding acreage, called Presidio Park, as a gift to the City of San Diego in 1929. It was his wish that the museum would be the home of the newly formed Historical Society. Built near the site of the first Spanish mission in Alta California, the museum also pays tribute to California's mission founder, Fr. Junípero Serra, and San Diego's Spanish and Mexican period.

The collections of the San Diego Pioneer Society,

Sylvia Arden is Head Librarian/Archivist for the San Diego Historical Society.


1915
1935
MUSEUM
OF
SAN DIEGO
HISTORY
BALBOA
PARK

During the Fall of 1982 the San Diego Historical Society's Research Archives will be moving to the lower floor of the new Museum of San Diego History in Balboa Park. Below, an artist's rendering of the proposed reading room for the facility.



Longtime San Diego Historical Society director, John Davidson, together with his wife Winifred, were responsible for much of the early growth of the Society's library.

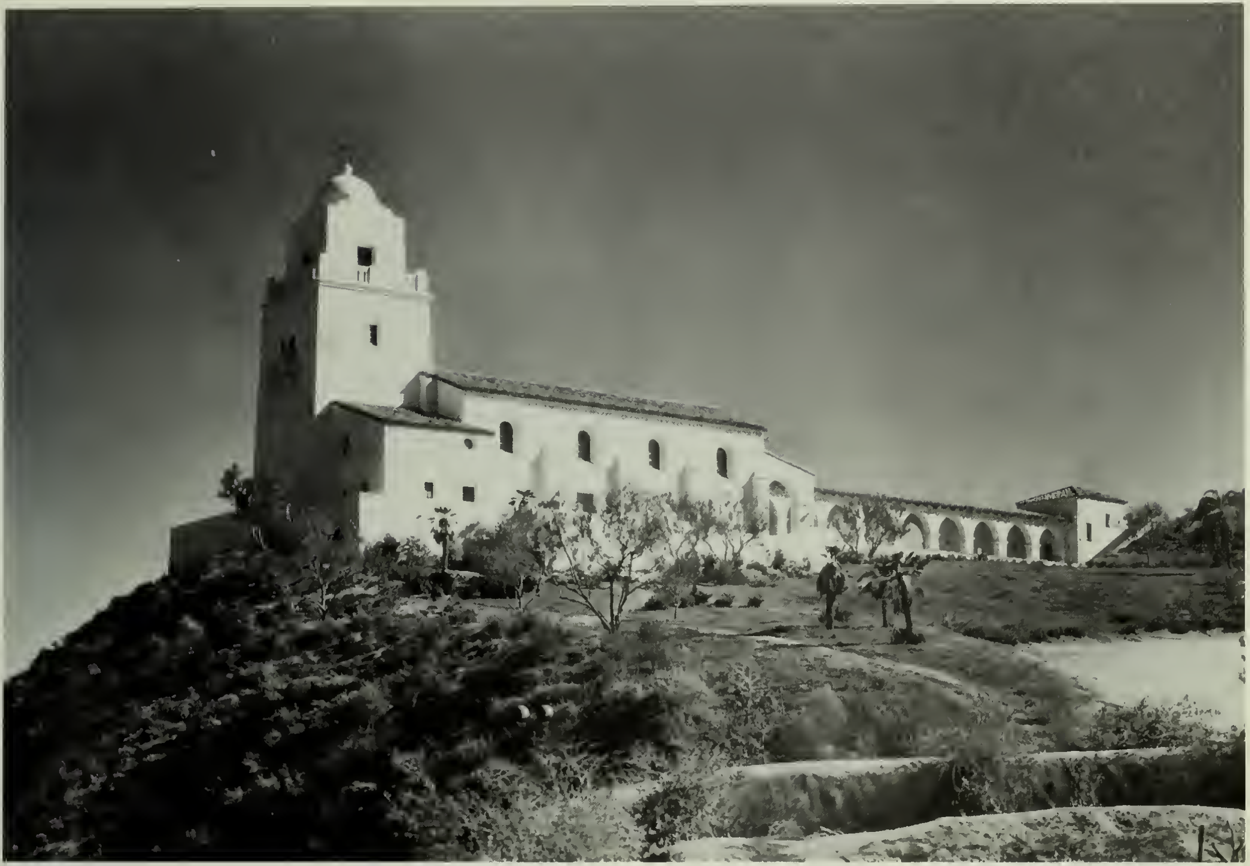
organized in 1895, formed the start of the San Diego Historical Society's library and manuscript collections. This nucleus of material continued to grow under the foresighted and persistent efforts of the museum's longtime first director, John Davidson (1930-1954) and his wife, Winifred, a devoted volunteer assistant. Two major and unique projects were undertaken by Winifred Davidson. She translated the original Spanish Franciscan Mission records of baptisms, marriages, and burials preserved at Mission San Diego de Alcalá. Visiting nearly every town and village in the County, she interviewed pioneers and descendants, transcribing from shorthand valuable historical notes for the Society's files.

As the city and county of San Diego grew, with a steady increase in colleges and universities, redevelopment projects, preservation of houses, buildings and other historic sites, and an aroused public interest, the Society's collections and use of collections has increased accordingly.

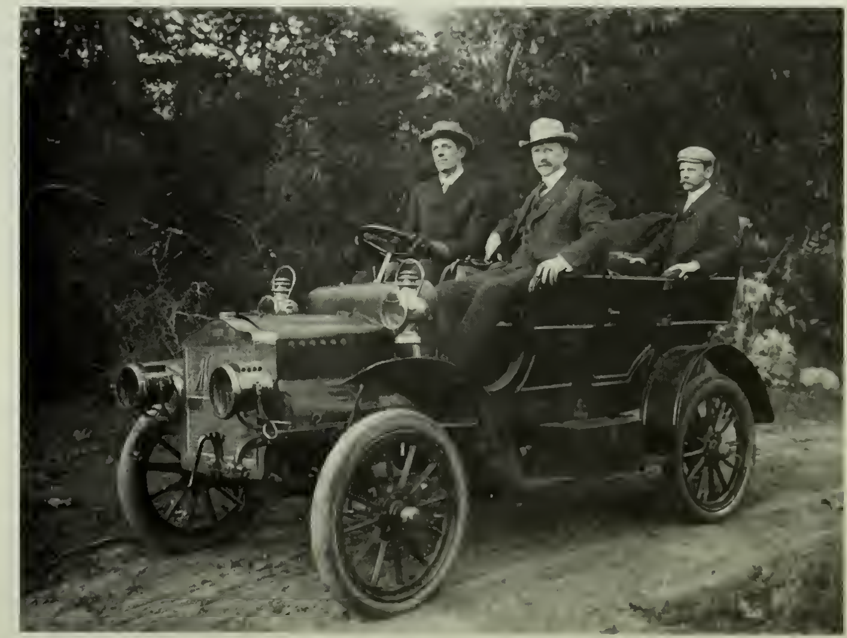
Today, the wide range of library source material covers every facet of activity in the San Diego region in depth, from the earliest period of Indians and explorers, to twentieth century urban history. Included are unique collections such as biographical notebooks containing information on thousands of San Diegans who have contributed to the history of the area. The 1438 subject files, ranging from Admission Day to Zoo, are continually growing with articles from city and county newspapers.

Manuscripts, diaries, letters, census records, city directories, letter press books, minute books, business ledgers, pamphlets, books, publications and architectural records cover a broad range of activities. The careful subject indexing over the years is appreciated by the thousands of researchers seeking all kinds of information.

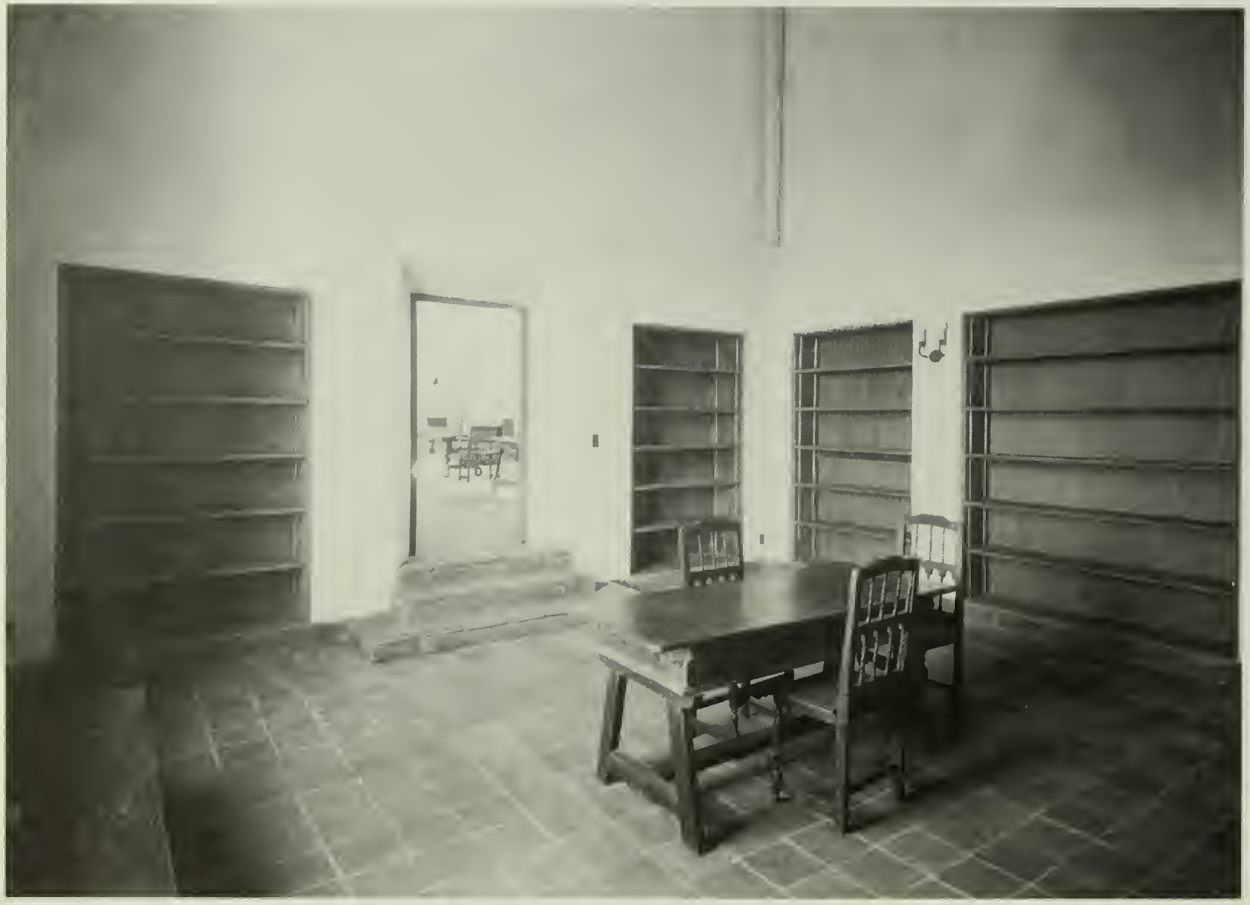
The San Diego Historical Society has one of the



The Junípero Serra Museum is seen above not long after its construction. The donor of the building, George W. Marston, takes an automobile ride (seated at center) with two other important San Diegans: businessman Ed Fletcher, at the wheel, and city planner John Nolan.



Shortly after the construction of the Serra Museum in 1929, the interior of the original Historical Society library was photographed. A collection of books and manuscripts would soon fill the empty shelves.



most successful volunteer oral history programs in the country. Started under Director Jerry MacMullen in 1957, long before oral history developed into the current popular method of obtaining first hand knowledge for historical purposes, the 550 typed transcripts available to researchers continues to increase. This is primarily due to the capable, dedicated volunteers who interview, transcribe, edit and type the final transcripts.

Volunteers are also busy cataloging and encapsulating the Society's important map collection which will be ready for use by researchers in the new Research Archives.

When the Society moves into its new headquarters, it will have the necessary facilities to make available a large collection of historical records from the city and county of San Diego. These records include the minutes of the San Diego City

The San Diego Historical Society's photograph collection contains roughly 200,000 images relating to the city and county. Here, a group of visitors to Mission Dam are seen about 1912.

Council from 1889-1959 and the accompanying Ordinances and Resolutions, Board of Public Work Minutes, Deed Records and Assessment Rolls. From the County are the Board of Supervisor Minutes from 1875-1954, various Treasurer's records, Assessor's rolls, Articles of Incorporation, Human Relations Commission files, Coroner's Inquests, and more. The largest group of records is from the County Courts, including the case files of the Court of Sessions and its successor the Superior Court from the 1870s to 1921. This represents nearly 40,000 individual cases. Also forming a part of this collection are the Superior Courts' Register of Actions—Civil and Crminal from1880-1945.

The Society's photograph collection numbers roughly 200,000 images of the city and county covering a period of over 100 years of visual history. A major portion of this archive is the prestigious Title Insurance and Trust Collection donated to the Society in 1979. There are many thousands of original prints plus more than 140,500 negatives, many of them the original working negatives of professional photographers in San Diego since the 1860s. Included among these are the negative files of the Union Tribune Publishing Company from the early 1920s through the early 1960s. Books, maps, manuscripts, abstracts, blueprints, plat books and other historical material are also a part of the donation from Title Insurance and Trust.

Currently, the San Diego Historical Society Library and Manuscripts Collection in Presidio Park's Junípero Serra Museum is open Tuesday through Friday, 10:00 a.m. to 4:45 p.m. and Saturdays noon to 4:45 p.m. There is a nominal charge to non-members of the Society. The photograph collection, located in downtown San Diego at 220 A Street, is open Monday, Wednesday and Friday, 1:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. (714) 232-9544. Due to the impending move, it is advisable to call (714) 297-3258 for location, hours, charges and availability of collections.

The photographs are courtesy of the San Diego Historical Society Title Insurance and Trust Collection.

Book Reviews

Beloved Sister: The Letters of James Henry Gleason, 1841 to 1859.

Compiled with notes by Duncan and Dorothy Gleason. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1978. 226 pp. $15.00).

Reviewed by George P. Hammond, *Professor of History and Director Emeritus of the Bancroft Library, University of California. Berkeley, author of* Don Juan de Oñate *and other studies on the founding of New Mexico and the early history of the southwest.*

This little volume of just over 200 pages contains the letters of young, ambitious James Henry Gleason of Plymouth, Massachusetts, to his cherished sister, Frances, at home. Written while he was in Honolulu and later Monterey, California, the letters provide a lively commentary on the contemporary social and business scene in both places.

Gleason was born on October 22, 1823, of a good family. Since there was little prospect of a career in the village of his birth, he was sent abroad to become a clerk in the business of his uncle, John Paty, in Honolulu. He departed from Plymouth in July, 1841, on the famous old *California,* a ship noted in the annals of the Pacific trade. For young Gleason—he celebrated his 18th birthday while at sea—the voyage was indeed an adventure. In his letters he described such events as "speaking" their first vessel at sea, off Cape Verde, or passing stormy Cape Horn. There the weather was extremely cold, he wrote, "occasioned by a southerly wind which blew off the ice." Soon, however, they were in Pacific waters and the weather improved. By the first of December they were approaching their destination, the island of Oahu, and on December 2, 1841, they furled the sails and disembarked in Honolulu. The voyage which had taken 154 days, was over and they were rowed ashore. Gleason was in good health, he insisted, and was delighted to find himself in such pleasant surroundings.

In Honolulu young Gleason served as business secretary and agent for his uncle, John Paty. Keeping the account books up to date was a responsibility that required long hours of attention, yet left him time to enjoy the many parties and dances and to keep up a whirl of social activity.

Early in 1846, Gleason left Honolulu and sailed for California to become the agent of John Paty & Company in Monterey and later an independent and very successful businessman. His duties often took him to San Francisco, but Monterey became his home and here he remained the rest of his life. Here also he met a delightful young woman, Caterina Watson, of Spanish-American blood, who, at the age of fifteen, became his wife. They were married on October 7, 1849, "at three o'clock in the morning," at a party given by the bride's family. Like other California families of that time, they reared a large family.

This was the time of the gold rush to California, and speculation was everywhere. Gleason became an independent merchant and did extremely well. One day, for example, he bought 200 barrels of flour at $20 apiece and sold them the next day for $50 each. On this transaction Gleason wrote that he expected to net between $4,000 and $5,000. Curious and restless, he took a fling in the mines, but once was enough! He advised his brothers in Massachusetts that, if they wished to gamble, they should know that the mines were highly speculative and dangerous to one's health. It was a risk that was only for experts.

These Gleason letters are interesting and informative and give a vivid picture of life in the province. The book is well edited and printed—a splendid addition to any collection of Californiana.

John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement.

By Stephen Fox. (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1981. 436 pp.).

Reviewed by Lawrence B. Lee, Professor of History, San Jose State University, author of Reclaiming the American West (1980).

This book is a welcome addition to the growing library of American conservation titles. The volume is most attractive in its format, organization and perceptive interpretation. Equally appealing is its literary style, vintage photographs and appearance, reflecting the fine artistry of the publishing craft. The author, a professional historian, began writing a new history of the conservation movement that would unify the subject, encompassing the insights of the utilitarian and preservationist traditions with the more recent environmental movement. Then, in midcourse, the remaining collection of Muir manuscripts and papers was opened to scholars. The book Stephen Fox had intended to write became three books with a common theme running throughout. The first part offers the reader a scholarly biography, from a new viewpoint, of the "founder" of the conservation movement. The second presents a chronological portrayal of the varying fortunes of the private conservation associations, their origins, leadership and achievements. They include the Audubon Society, California's own Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society, the Izaak Walton League and the National Wildlife Federation. The conclusion is an analysis of the motives and *modus operandi* of the "radical amateurs", the author believes have led the campaigns, in the John Muir tradition, for the protection of natural resources, wild life and wilderness.

John Muir provides the unifying theme of the study. In a semantic aside, Fox discloses that the true meaning of conservation is preservation and thus Muir is elevated above Gifford Pinchot as the guiding light of conservation. Muir represented the amateur, intent upon preserving forests and wildlife. Pinchot, the professional forester, interpreted the term to mean controlled use of natural resources which was further corrupted by governmental departments dedicated to the commodity theory of natural resource use. The author does not attempt to include their conservation achievements as in timber and range management, soil conservation, water power and river basin development, etc. Muir is also pictured as an ecologist with a reverence for life attributable to his wilderness wanderings and Transcendentalist borrowings from Emerson and Thoreau. "Lord Man" to whom was given mastery over the inhabitants of the earth and sea came to be viewed as the last "endangered species" from the vantage point of today's ecological imperative. John Muir was at one with Aldo Leopold and Rachel Carson in a pantheistic concern for all forms of life and the sustaining environment of Planet Earth.

The reader is able to wend his way through the author's complex narrative of resource and environmental protection/preservation by heeding Fox's signposts which are the variations upon the theme of the "amateur radical." Thus John Muir's personality contradictions (people vs. nature) manifested themselves in the leadership he gave to the Sierra Club's Yosemite Park and Hetch Hetchy campaigns for preservation. Paradoxes abound as the defeat of Hetch-Hetchy was matched by passage of the National Park Act (1916) sponsored by J. Horace McFarland of the American Civic Association. During the 1920s and 1930s the arms manufacturers sponsored the American Game Protection Agency (today's National Wildlife Federation), which worked closely with William Hornaday's Permanent Wild Life Protection Fund, the Izaak Walton League and Will Dilg and "Ding" Darling's Biological Survey. They secured legislation creating numerous federal wild life refuges and the establishment of the Fish and Wildlife Service. After World War II the "insider" social and business connections of the amateurs with administrators and Congressmen was no longer effective. The broad-gauged publicity campaigns were launched by the emergent and activist Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society and allies led by David Brower and Howard Zahneiser to block the desecration of dams at Dinosaur in 1956 and Grand Canyon in 1968. A Council of Conservationists linkage of the private environmental associations helped muster popular support for passage of the Wilderness Act of 1964. Bernard DeVoto was the most influential free lance writer to champion the wilderness cause. The author also inserts biographical sketches of other free lance conservationists who supplemented the activities of the societies: John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Joseph Wood Krutch, Charles Lindberg, William O. Douglas and Aldo Leopold.

Wilderness preservation gave way to environmental protection in the 1960s. The focus shifted from preserving non-human aspects of the environment to saving man himself from pollution. Scientists led the way in alerting the public. Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962) awakened mass concern and Barry Commoner and Paul Ehrlich, incidentally all biologists, pointed out new dimensions of environmental degradation. Aldo Leopold's *Sand County Almanac* became the testament for the new gospel of ecology.

The reader is familiar with recent environmental history which has featured the enormous growth of the environmental societies. The environmental movement also enlisted vast numbers from the disparate expressions of the youth revolt in the 1960s. Ralph Nader's consumer movement was enormously supportive. The Movement also found a new means to protect the environment through litigation. The Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund was but one of several private associations founded to monitor private enterprise and governmental bureaus' conformity to the standards of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1970.

Not so well understood has been the important force of the "radical amateurs" in the conservation movement. Operating from outside the government, private enterprise and even the private societies, at times, have forced change in all three institutions. Hunters and "birders" became preservers. Wilderness *aficionados* (Muir, Leopold, and Robert Marshall) wanted all to experience wildness. An anti-modernist mood has been reflected in the environmental movement as well as a pantheistic appreciation of the soul force permeating the whole biotic community including man.

Karok Myths.

By A. L. Kroeber and E. W. Gifford, edited by Grace Buzaljko, foreword by Theodora Kroeber, folkloristic commentary by Alan Dundes, and linguistic index by William Bright. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980. xlix, 380 pp. $25.00).

December's Child; a Book of Chumash Oral Narratives.

Collected by J. P. Harrington, edited, with an analysis by Thomas C. Blackburn. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975). xxii, 359 pp. $5.95, paper).

Legends of the Yosemite Miwok.

Compiled by Frank LaPena and Craig D. Bates, illustrated by Harry Fonseca. (Yosemite National Park: Yosemite Natural History Association, 1981. 56 pp. $24.95).

The Way We Lived; California Indian Reminiscences, Stories and Songs.

Edited with a commentary by Malcolm Margolin. (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1981. 209 pp. $12.95).

The Shoshoni Indians of Inyo County, California; The Kerr Manuscript.

Edited, annotated, and with introductory preface by Charles N. Irwin. (Socorro, New Mexico: Ballena Press/Eastern California Museum Cooperative Publication, 1980. xvii, 92 pp. $6.95).

Kashaya Pomo Plants.

By Jennie Goodrich, Claudia Lawson, Vana Parrish Lawson. (Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Center, University of California, 1980. vi, 171 pp. $8.95).

The Natural World of the California Indians.

By Robert F. Heizer and Albert B. Elsasser. (Berkeley: Univeristy of California Press, 1980. 271 pp. $12.95.).

Genocide and Vendetta; the Round Valley Wars of Northern California.

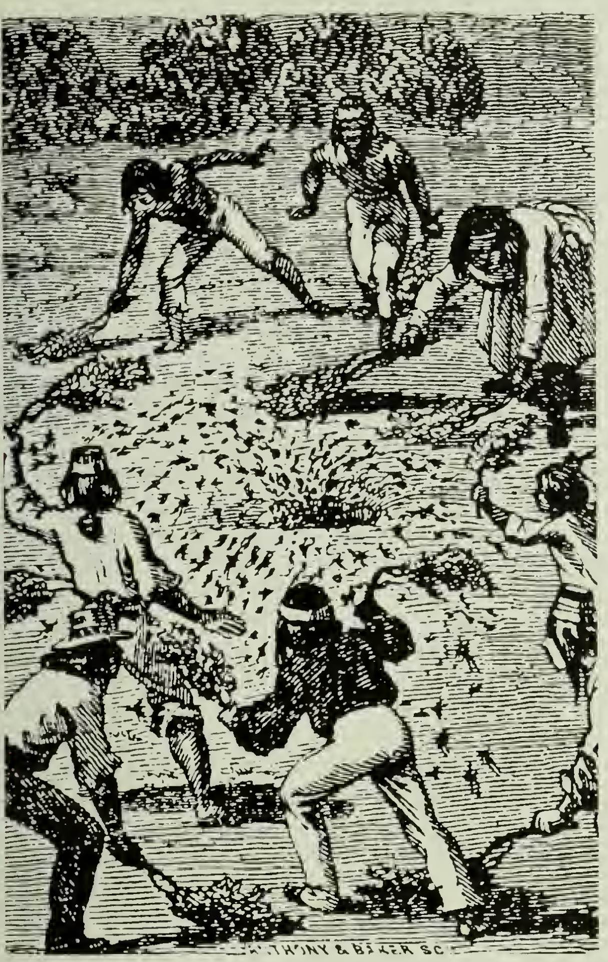
By Lynwood Carranco and Estle Beard. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981. x, 403 pp. $19.95).

Lo, the Poor Indian; a Saga of the Suisun Indians of California.

By Ethel Matson Read. (Fresno: Panorama West, 1980. xii, 577 pp. $18.00.).

Reviewed by Charles E. Roberts, *Associate Professor of Native American History at California State University, Sacramento.*

By the end of the nineteenth century, California Indians had been overwhelmed. From a population estimated by Sherburne Cook at 310,000 in 1769, their numbers had dwindled to barely 20,000. Given the rapidity of this


ANTHONY & BAKER SC.

California Indians catching grasshoppers as seen in Hutchings' California Magazine, *c. 1862.*

annihilation, especially in the decade after the gold rush, it is not surprising that by the time professional ethnographers came to the study of Californa Indians they could find only remnants of shattered cultures and obtain testimony from witnesses whose memories had been wrenched by the violence of the recent past and whose knowledge had been muted by mixed marriages and acculturation. Thus, such individuals as A. L. Kroeber, who came west in 1900 to assume a position at the California Academy of Sciences and who would soon join the newly created department of anthropology at the University of California, perceived their task as one of salvaging the material culture of California Indians and recording what they saw as a rapidly diminishing body of legends, stories, folktales, songs and languages.

Shortly after Kroeber arrived in San Francisco, he went north and began field work among the Yuroks of the lower Klamath River. In the summer of 1902 he went upstream to visit the Karoks, a people whose isolation had allowed them to withstand the sudden burst of miners that had poured into their country in the early 1850s. Over the next two decades he immersed himself in the ways of these people. Sixteen years after his death, *Yurok Myths* was published; this was followed in 1908 by *Karok Myths*. Both confirm his dedication to research and his affection for the Indian people whom he had studied. To add to its richness, *Karok Myths* also contains some 160 stories collected by E. W. Gifford, who joined Kroeber as a colleague first at the Academy of Sciences and later at the University of California. Gifford, whose field work among the Karoks was conducted in the years 1939 to 1942, recorded many of the same tales obtained by Kroeber and on occasion used the same consultants. Thus, the book provides an opportunity to compare texts recorded over a forty year interval for subtle changes induced by acculturation. Collectively, the stories set forth a way of life adapted to the riverine world of the Klamath and Salmon Rivers and introduce a universe containing such powerful forces as the creator god, Hakananpmanan, whose constantly flowing tears created the Upriver Ocean (Klamath Lake), and Coyote, whose antics both delight and profoundy disturb. Theodora Kroeber describes her husband's association with the Karok, and Alan Dundes places the stories in their cultural context.

Shortly after Kroeber began his work in California, J. P. Harrington began his own remarkable but eccentric career collecting information on California Indians. In her memoir of Harrington, *Encounter with an Angry God*, published in 1976 by the Malki Press, Carobeth Laird has caught the urgency he brought to his work: "The vessel of the old culture had broken, and its precious contents were spilling out and evaporating before our very eyes. Harrington, like a man dying of thirst, lapped at every random trickle." Over the years he accumulated a tremendous mass of information on virtually every tribe in California, but given his penchant for privacy he refused to give it shape and seldom succumbed to the rewards of publication (even though his bibliography contains some 100 items). He was most fascinated by the Chumash of the Santa Barbara region, beginning his field work there in 1912 and eventually collecting some sixty boxes of notes, now deposited either at the Smithsonian Institution or on loan to the University of California, Berkeley.

To his credit Thomas C. Blackburn has penetrated Harrington's notes and has arranged 111 myths, folktales, and stories by the Chumash as *December's Child.* According to them, a child born in December, when the sun's brilliance began to revive, was like "a baby in an ecstatic condition." But this baby must soon leave this condition, assume a man's role, and move into the action of life. The Chumash believed that the cosmos consisted of three parts: an upper world belonging to the Sky People; the world's surface which was suspended from the sky by ropes and upon which lived human beings and animals; and an underworld inhabited by monsters that frequently climbed onto the world's surface. For the Chumash life was capricious, and the more one was separated from the center the more dangerous it became. Such a world could be made secure only by hard work and attention to ritual. In his analysis, Blackburn suggests that these stories, set in a timeless past and concerning the actions of mythological beings, can help us to understand Chumash culture; that the behavior, beliefs, fears and material possessions of the First People are projections of the Chumash world itself. The title of the book is a tribute to these people, who indeed had earned their right to join the Sun and move out into the warmth of the world.

Another region of California overrun by miners in the early 1850s was the Yosemite Valley. Survivors retreated across the mountains into the Owens Valley or were taken to reservations on the floor of the San Joaquin. Later they trickled back into the Yosemite, eventually finding work with the park service or the Curry Company. Frank LaPena, director of Native American Studies at California State University, Sacramento, and a member of the Wintu tribe, and Craig Bates, assistant curator of the Yosemite Collections at Yosemite National Park, have brought together *The Legends of the Yosemite Miwok.* With the exception of a brief introduction by LaPena and the exquisitely rendered paintings of Harry Fonseca, a noted Maidu painter now living in Albuquerque, they have chosen to let these legends find their own way into the reader's imagination. These stories possess a tremendous sense of place; the characters who are contained in these tales have implanted themselves upon the Valley's form. El Capitan, Half Dome, Yosemite Falls, the Merced River, have all been given presence and made palpable. For the Miwok good and evil are inextricably mixed, and one must learn to cope with the evil that lies within and about us. When Yel'-lo-kin, the man-eating giant who resides in the sky was finally killed by Eagle, his feathers were taken by Coyote down to the earth and transformed into trees and plants. Human beings were later created out of his feathers. In another tale, two boys have been orphaned. To survive they must kill and eat birds. After attaching feathers to their arms, they are able to fly through the north hole of the sky. Changed into Thunder, they return each year to the Valley, bringing rain and ensuring survival. This is a beautiful book and is well worth the price.

Some years ago Malcolm Margolin set out to study the entire spectrum of California Indian literature, but soon realized that it was an impossible chore. Confronting the diversity inherent in over 120 languages and the large number of accumulated texts, he has taken instead a personal approach in selecting the eighty reminiscences, stories, and songs that comprise *The Way We Lived.* He has made his selection on the basis of "what seemed to jump out of the mass of collected materials, suddenly illuminating some aspect of native life, or presenting me with something that I found beautiful, tragic, terribly interesting, or simply funny." As he suggests, these are items that made him feel what it was like, at least for a moment, to be a woman shaman dancing for power, an old man looking at a pine tree he could no longer climb, an old woman who knew she was the last of her tribe, or a witness to the Stone and Kelsey massacre of the Pomo at Clear Lake in 1849. These stories are less a study of place than an evocation of mood. We share his need to comprehend the way it once was before the coming of whites and his sadness for the losses suffered both by the natives of California and the land itself.

In 1936 the Works Progress Administration conducted a survey of Owens Valley Paiute myths, customs and vocabulary under the direction of F. S. Hulse and F. J. Essene. One of the local residents they hired was Mark Kerr. Kerr was born in Ireland in 1883, emigrated to the

United States as a youth,and moved to Inyo County shortly after the first world war. Already possessing an interest in botany, he soon developed a fascination for the local Indians as well. From 1931 to 1934 he was the curator of the Eastern California Museum at Independence. As an offshoot of the WPA project, Kerr and Esther Checo, a Shoshoni resident of Darwin, collected data on the Shoshoni of southern Inyo County, with most of their information being provided by Coso Shoshoni consultants. After this work was completed, Kerr deposited a manuscript in the museum that seems to have been neglected until 1977, when Charles Irwin, the present director of the museum, discovered it. Supplying editorial comments and annotations based upon his own field work, Irwin had it published in 1980 as *The Shoshoni Indians of Inyo County: The Kerr Manuscript*. There is much of value in this account of the Shoshoni, including descriptions of warfare with the Paiutes and of attempts by federal troops to force them upon the reservation at Fort Tejon, but the most valuable contributions concern the collection and utilization of plants by the Shoshoni. We are better able to understand their adaptations to a sometimes hostile environment.

Our knowledge of plant usage by California Indians is greatly enlarged by *Kashaya Pomo Plants*. Jennie Goodrich, Claudia Lawson, and Vana Parrish Lawson began their research as part of a grant awarded by the National Endowment for the Humanities to Dr. Shirley Silver of the department of anthropology at Sonoma State College in 1974. The Kashaya are now located on the Stewart's Point rancheria in Mendocino County, but their original lands embraced much of the territory in and around Fort Bragg. This area contains a variety of plant communities, ranging from the coastal strand to dense redwood forests in the interior. The authors' purpose was to develop a list of all the plants used by the Kashaya, with each listing giving the plant's Pomo and scientific name and describing its appearance and characteristics, how and when it was collected, and how it was prepared. For some of these plants information about their ceremonial use is also provided. Such nonplant species as mosses, seaweed, and mushrooms are classified in appendixes. Most of the data were provided by three Pomo women, Mrs. Sidney Parrish, Mrs. Essie Parrish, and Mrs. Susie Gomes, and was supplemented by the linguistic studies of Dr. Robert Oswalt conducted in the late 1950s and ealry 1960s. This book clearly indicates that the Kashaya possessed a truly sophisticated taxonomy, and made a closer discrimination among plants than does the modern scientific classification.

The late Robert F. Heizer, distinguished professor emeritus of anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, and Albert B. Elsasser, an associate research anthropologist at the Lowie Museum, have summarized the present state of ethnographical knowledge of California Indians in *The Natural World of the California Indians*. The influence of A. L. Kroeber and his generation of researchers is evident throughout. What developed in California were six major cultural areas, yet in each there were local adaptations based upon topography, drainage systems, and soil conditions. The authors, in describing the rich diversity of California lifeways, emphasize what they call the "creative stewardship" of the native population. They give a great deal of attention to the Indians' collection and utilization of plants, animals, and fish; they examine the foods available and demonstrate how these successfully met dietary needs. Having a close understanding of the natural world, the California Indians possessed a relatively secure standard of living and did minimal damage to the environment. An extreme localism developed from these ecological forces: California Indians seldom left an orbit that revolved around the villages in which they were born. The authors also give an outline of California's pre-history from roughtly 10,000 years ago to the coming of the Spanish, and a final chapter is devoted to the historic period. This latter chapter is the most disappointing, since it focuses almost exclusively upon the years between 1769 and 1852, by which time the world of the California Indians was in utmost disarray. The modern period is dismissed in less than a page and a half. More could be written about the long range impact of mining, lumbering, and settlement upon the environment and adjustments made by the Indians. Consideration might also be given to more recent changes induced by the construction of nuclear power projects. Nonetheless, this book is a valuable introduction to the ways of California Indians before the arrival of white men.

The impact of American penetration and settlement of the Yolla Bolly country lying in the drainage systems of the Eel and Mad Rivers and the southern fork of the Trinity is the subject of *Genocide and Vendetta* by Lynwood Carranco and Estle Beard. The authors have organized their book into two sections. The first is an examination of the displacement and near annihilation of the Yuki of Round Valley and other tribes who inhabited the region. Based upon extensive research in local newspapers and federal and state documents, this section clearly reveals the vicious actions of American settlers as they moved into the area during the 1850s and proceeded to engage in genocide. The word is entirely appropriate. The Yuki, who numbered approximately 6,880 at the time of contact, dwindled to barely 300 by 1864; the Huchnom, with an initial population of 2,100, were reduced to 79 by the time of the 1870 census. The federal government attempted to protect the Indians by establishing Round Valley as a reservation, but it merely served as a holding area in which the venal sought candidates for enslavement and vigilantes found easy victims. Officials of the Indian service, including Thomas J. Henley, the second superintendent of Indian affairs for California, found it expedient to participate in the killing. The second section is a study of the Asbill and White families, who settled in Round Valley in the 1850s and proceeded to dominate the region. George White, who controlled some 35,000 acres and became known as the King of Round Valley, intimidated potential settlers and occasionally resorted to murder. His empire fell apart in a series of sensational murder trials in the 1890s, when several of his henchmen were tried and convicted for the murder of one of his former associates. The authors include a 21-page appendix tracing the history of Round Valley reservation to 1940, which merely whets one's desire to know more about the impact of settlement and federal policies upon the Yuki and the other tribesmen relocated on the reservation once the wars were over.

The final book under review, *Lo, the Poor Indians,* is what the author, Ethel Matson Read, describes as a documentary novel. She covers the seventy-five years between the movement of the Spanish across the Carquinez Straits into Napa and Sonoma counties and the conclusion of the Modoc War in 1873. Her pages are crammed with such noted persons as Mariano Vallejo, Jedediah Smith, John Sutter, John Bidwell, Joaquin Murieta, Samuel Jarboe, and Captain Jack. She focuses upon the activities of Chief Solano of the Suisun and his descendants and places them imaginatively at every significant event of these years. The author has an anti-Spanish bias and ascribes an unlikely sense of feminism to her Indian women. She includes a number of maps and illustrations and quotes extensively from historical sources. She often pays attention to certain aspects of Indian culture or history that is overlooked by conventional sources. She describes, for example, the great meteorite shower of November, 1833, but places it in the context of the malaria epidemic that devastated the tribes of the Sacramento and San Joaquin the previous summer. Both the shower and the epidemic are fundamental to the memory of contemporary California Indians. Nonetheless, as a work of fiction the scenario it establishes is hardly plausible and, as a work of history, it is episodic and superficial.

The illustration is from the CHS Library.

California Check List

By Bruce L. Johnson, *Library Director*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

Beard, Franklin (ed.). *Charles Hopper and the Pilgrims of the Pacific: An 1841 California Pioneer, His Narrative and Other Documents.* La Grange, California: Southern Mines Press, 1981. $60.00 Order from: Franklin Beard; 3508 Wycliffe Drive; Modesto, CA 95355.

Hopper was a member of the Bartleson-Bidwell Party of 1841, the first wagon train to reach California. In 1847 he lead a similar party from the Midwest to California; in his later years Hopper settled in Napa County. This book is a collection of original source material, including an 1871 interview with Hopper, most of which is not readily available elsewhere.

Brand Book No. 16. Los Angeles: The Westerners, Los Angeles Corral, 1982. $22.50 (members of the Corral), $27.50 (non-members). Order from: Westerners Brand Book; POB 230; Glendale, CA 91209.

This anthology of eleven articles, plus "A Color Portfolio of Andy Dagosta's Oil Paintings," is another outstanding contribution to this fine series. The articles are generally well-researched, and (as usual) are quite diverse, including Jayne Bernard's "Sunbathing in Southern California," and "The Indian and General Scott," by Iron Eyes Cody. Everett and Anna Marie Hager have provided an excellent index.

California Institute of Public Affairs. *Academic Research and Public Service Centers in California: A Guide.* Claremont, California: California Institute of Public Affairs, 1982. $18.50. Order from: The Publisher; POB 10; Claremont, CA 91711.

Another volume in the California Information Guides Series, this useful publication is a descriptive directory of research and public service centers, institutes, and similar programs located at public and independent colleges and universities in California. The centers are listed by campus, and indexed by name, key words, and subjects. Full addresses and telephone numbers are given, and purposes, activities, publications, and services are briefly described.

California Institute of Public Affairs. *California Water Resources Directory.* Claremont, California: California Institute of Public Affairs, 1982. $20.00. Order from: The Publisher; POB 10; Claremont, CA 91711.

Edited by Elizabeth G. Reifsnider, this publication is subtitled: "A Guide to Organizations and Information Resources." It is the first comprehensive guide to the maze of organizations concerned with the important and always controversial field of water resources in California, and describes nearly a thousand governmental and private organizations that are concerned with water policy, development, supply, and conservation, as well as the economic, energy, and environmental protection aspects of water resources.

Carpenter, Virginia L. *The Ranchos of Don Pacifico Ontiveros.* Fullerton, California: Friis-Pioneer Press, 1982. $17.45. Order from: The Author; 204 N. Princeton Avenue; Fullerton, CA 92631.

Don Pacifico Ontiveros was the first owner of the land on which Anaheim, Fullerton, Brea, and Placentia now stand. By focusing on one family, the author has attempted "to give a picture of life in those early California days," from the grant to Don Pacifico of the San Juan Cajon de Santa Ana rancho in Orange County in 1837, to the Tepusquet rancho in Santa Maria Valley, to which he moved in 1857. The book includes genealogical charts prepared by Erlinda Ontiveros.

Dennis, Harry. *Water & Power: The Peripheral Canal and Its Alternatives.* San Francisco: Friends of the Earth, 1981. $4.95.
The overwhelming defeat of the Peripheral Canal proposition by California voters did not signal an end to the issue; it was only the first stage in a continuing battle to divert Northern California water supplies to satisfy a supposed need for increased supplies in the South. This impressively documented work is as important now as before June 1982, because of the alternatives it provides to the inevitable question, "If not the Peripheral Canal, then what?"

Dillon, Richard. *Delta Country.* Novato: Presidio Press, 1982. $20.00. Order from: The Publisher; 31 Pamaron Way; Novato, CA 94947.
Containing a remarkable series of fifty photographs by Steve Simmons, and a narrative by the respected and highly prolific California historian, Richard Dillon, *Delta Country* is a tribute to that low-lying triangle by which California's Central Valley rivers seek the sea. Beginning with an historical overview, Dillon comments also on the modern Delta and its uncertain future, this "bucolic land of peace . . . and tranquil place of ease largely unsullied [at least until now] by civilization. . . ."

Edwards, Don. *Making the Most of Sonoma: A California Guide.* Novato: Presidio Press, 1982. $8.95.
This book is one of a series of guidebooks published by the Presidio Press, but it seems much more than yet one more guide for tourists. Edwards combines geography, history, and the folklore of Sonoma County into a detailed and well-written survey of the area, which contains also a generous supply of practical tips and useful information.

Fabry, Joseph. *Swing Shift: Building the Liberty Ships.* San Francisco: Strawberry Hill Press, 1982. $7.95. Order from: The Publisher; 1961 Pine Street; Martinez, CA 94553.
During World War II, the population of Richmond, California grew ten-fold from 20,000 to 200,000, an increase caused mainly by the influx of people engaged in the construction of Liberty Ships. *Swing Shift* was an unpublished manuscript for forty years, having been written by Fabry, an Austrian refugee, during the early 1940s. Its lack of hindsight therefore places it in a unique position among the current spate of books about World War II—it conveys in a convincing manner the chaos, frustration, and optimism that colored war-time America for the first two years after Pearl Harbor.

Harris, David. *Dreams Die Hard.* New York: St. Martin's/Marek, 1982. $14.95.
It began at Stanford University in 1961 and ended tragically in March 1980, when Dennis Sweeney allegedly murdered his former mentor Allard Lowenstein, Congressman from New York. During the intervening twenty years in the United States, the naive idealism of Camelot was replaced with cynical realism, and both Lowenstein and Sweeney played their respective roles in that change. Although author David Harris handles the political intricacies of his story better than the personal, his biography will form an important chapter in documenting the unravelling of the Movement.

Howard-Jones, Marje. *Seekers of the Spring: A History of Carlsbad.* Carlsbad: Friends of the Carlsbad Library, 1982. $25 (cloth); $8.50 (paper). The Publisher; 1250 Elm Street; Carlsbad, CA 92008.
Seekers of the Spring, an extensive revision of an earlier edition, chronicles the trials and triumphs of the seekers who came to Carlsbad—from Franciscan friars to modern entrepreneurs, from the establishment of Rancho Agua Hedionda in the mid-nineteenth century and the founding of Carlsbad in the 1880s, through the community's growing pains, the development of agriculture and tourism, and its incorporation in 1952.

Kahrl, William L. *Water and Power: The Conflict over Los Angeles' Water Supply in the Owens Valley.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. $24.95.
William Kahrl has told the real story behind the motion picture *Chinatown* —the history of Los Angeles's seizure of water of the Owens Valley. *Water and Power* is the most complete available account of this conflict from its origins to the current controversy over the destruction of Mono Lake. Kahrl's book is most certainly essential reading for anyone interested in the environment or the politics of California water.

Low, Victor. *The Unimpressible Race: A Century of Educational Struggle by the Chinese in San Francisco.* San Francisco: East/West Publishing Company, 1982. $12.95 (cloth); $7.50 (paper). Order from: The Publisher; 838 Grant Avenue, Suite 307; San Francisco, CA 94108.
Although the concept of bilingual education is under attack both from within and without more today than ever before, Victor Low chronicles 100 years of the ways in which Chinese Americans successfully fought for their right to be educated in the public schools, and for the recognition that all children who speak little or no English have basic rights that must be protected and language skills that must be cultivated. Low's book has been favorably compared with Charles Wollenberg's ground-breaking *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975.*

Perry, John. *Jack London: An American Myth.* Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1981. $21.95 (cloth); $10.95 (paper).

In his later years Jack London, who may have been, as some critics maintain, one of the most prolific burnt-out authors in history, never recaptured the success of *The Call of the Wild* and *The Sea Wolf,* both published before he was twenty-eight. In this attempted devaluation of London as an author, John Perry traces London's life from his controversial paternity through his San Francisco childhood, youthful adventures on the waterfront, sporadic education, early fame and financial success writing adventure stories, first and second marriages, extravagant projects, alcoholism and failing health to his death at age forty.

Rife, Joanne. *Bicycling Country Roads.* Santa Cruz: Western Tanager Press, 1982. Order from: The Publisher; 1111 Pacific Avenue; Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

This handy paperback was designed to open new vistas on the scenic roads of central California for both small-town residents and big-city cyclists who want to escape the urban hustle. The fifty biking tours of this fascinating and beautiful region are grouped so that those people from out of the area can plan a weekend, or a week, of bicycling using a local base of operations. If the rides are too long, shortcuts are noted. In addition to specific route information, *Bicycling Country Roads* also provides sightseeing information, historical lore and personal anecdotes.

Uchida, Yoshiko. *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese American Family.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982. $12.95.

The relocation during World War II of Americans of Japanese ancestry was justified primarily by the belief that the United States was "better safe than sorry." Yoshiko Uchida, a student at the University of California, was swept up in the hysteria and was sent to Topaz, south of Salt Lake City. *Desert Exile* is an intimate, moving, and inspirational account of her imprisonment.

Vojir, Dan. *The Sunny Side of Castro Street.* San Francisco: Strawberry Hill Press, 1982. $6.95. Order from: The Publisher; 1961 Pine Street; Martinez, CA 94553.

The Sunny Side of Castro Street is a very personal memoir, a "diary of sorts," of life in a gay ghetto. Vojir came to San Francisco in the mid-1970s, and carefully documented his daily experiences. The individual events described are not particularly remarkable (and they have undoubtedly been duplicated and improved upon by countless others), but throughout the book the author's essential humanness forms the essence of his story, and consequently *The Sunny Side of Castro Street* is one of the best available books for demystifying what it means to be gay in San Francisco.

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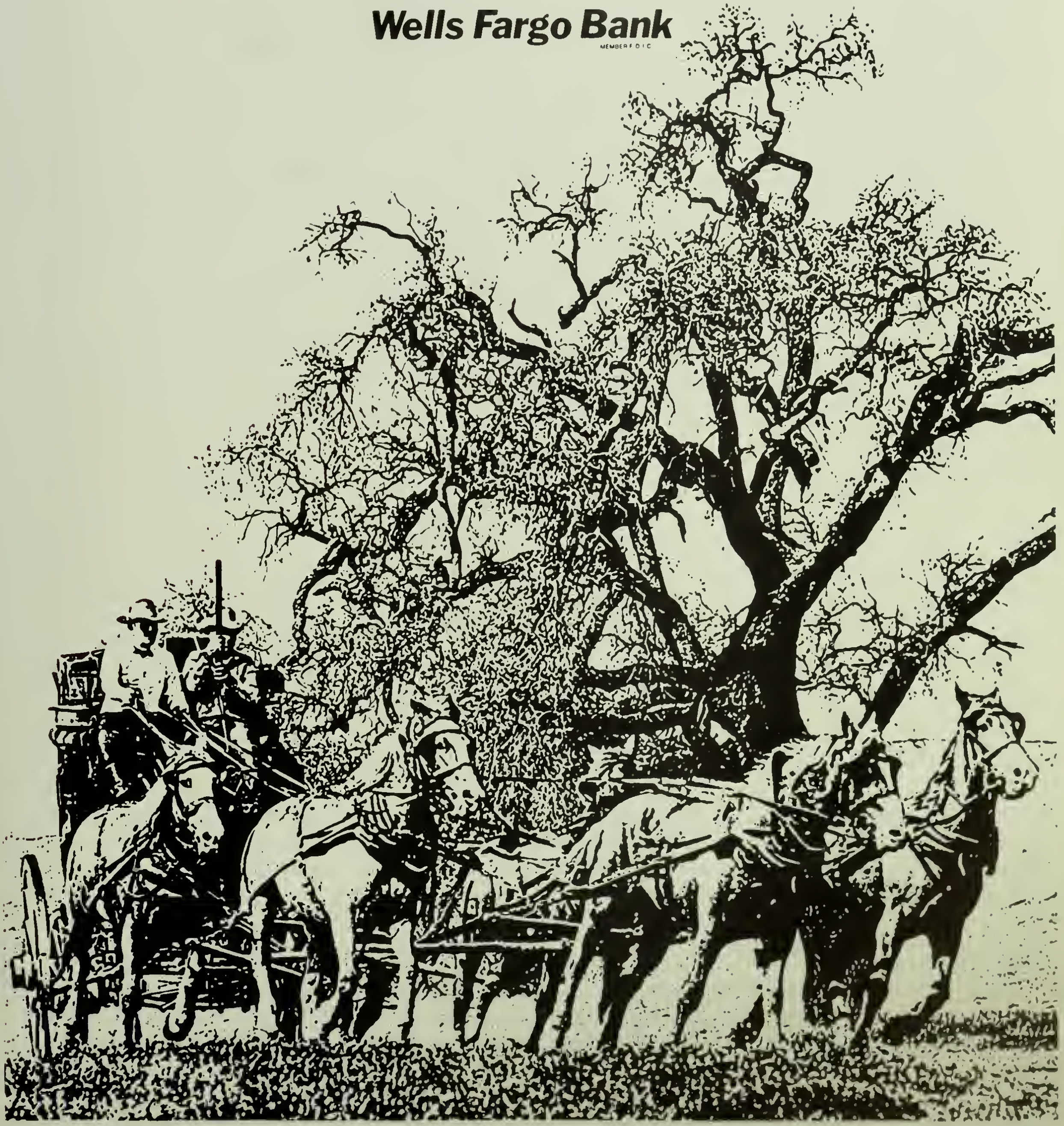

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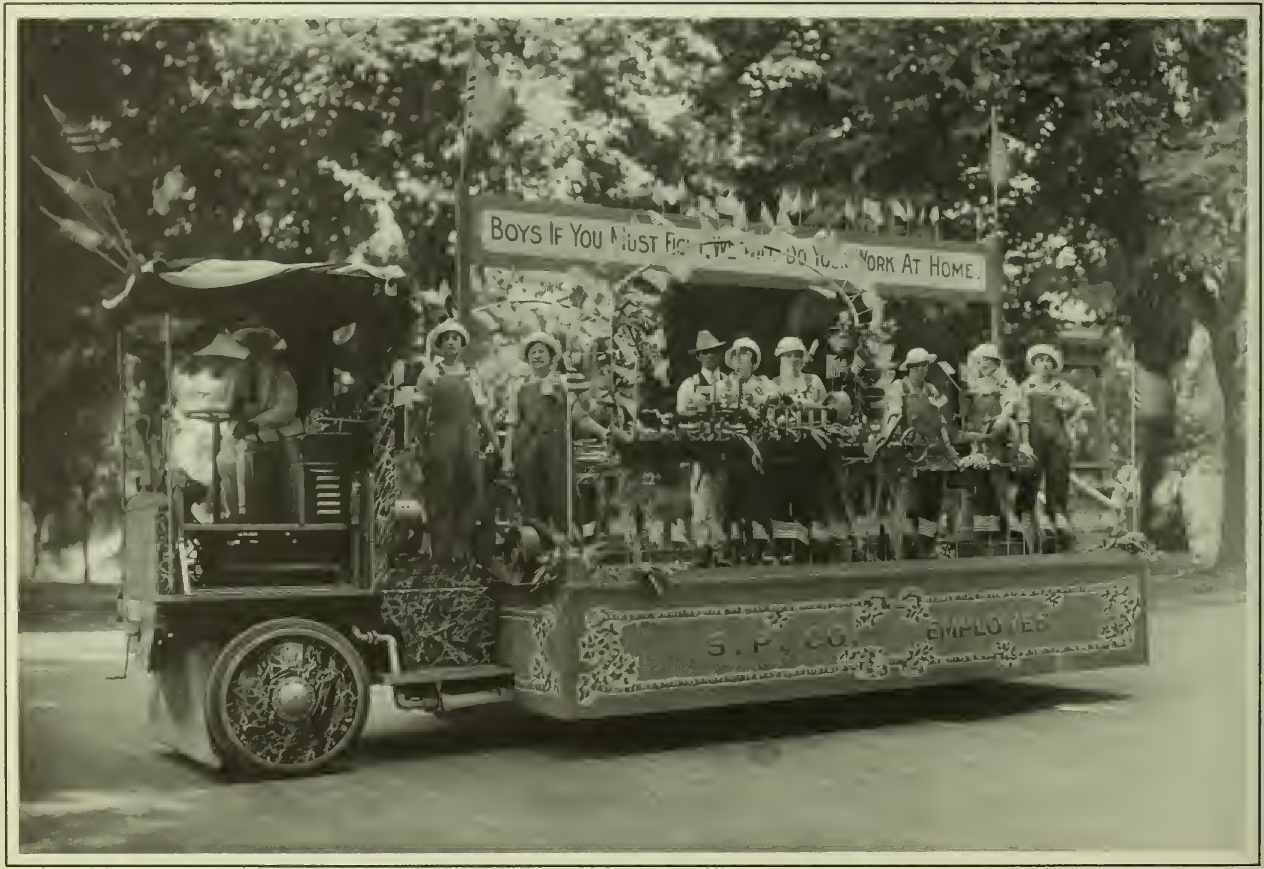
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"Boys, if you must fight, we will do your work at home," pledge these earnest women employees of the Southern Pacific Company during a World War I parade. Women filled men's jobs in the Southern Pacific shops, learning to "man" machines like lathes. California Historical Society, San Francisco

COVER: This family of refugees from the midwestern Dust Bowl eagerly awaited entry into California at the Yuma border station where Dorothea Lange photographed them in 1935. California's large-scale agriculture offered migrants the promise of employment, but only under the harshest of living and working conditions which John Steinbeck documented in his controversial novel, The Grapes of Wrath. Dorothea Lange, Oakland Museum

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The Magazine of the California Historical Society

PUBLISHED SINCE 1922 VOLUME LXI FALL 1982 NO. 3

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James J. Rawls

Great Expectations
William Swain, J.S. Holliday & The World Rushed In

Not in a generation, not since the appearance of Rodman Paul's *California Gold* (1947) and John Caughey's *Gold Is the Cornerstone* (1948), not in a very long time indeed has a book stirred such interest in the California gold rush as has the publication of J.S. Holliday's *The World Rushed In*. Endorsed in pre-publication reviews by Kevin Starr, Ray Allen Billington, William Hutchinson, and Howard Lamar, the book is already in its third printing and has been chosen as a selection by the Literary Guild and the History Book Club. Simon and Schuster have sent the author on a nationwide tour, prompting enthusiastic reviews in scores of newspapers and magazines, and radio and television interviews.

Members and friends of the California Historical Society have been anticipating publication of *The World Rushed In* since at least 1970 when Jim Holliday became the society's Executive Director. Scholars in the field looked forward to the book's appearance for years before that when word was out that "Holliday's book" was soon to be finished. George Stewart, for instance, cited the book in his bibliography to *The California Trail* in 1962, noting that the volume was "in preparation for publication." No one, of course, anticipated publication longer than the author himself: Holliday began work on the book in June 1948, thirty-two years before the date of publication.

Holliday's first encounter with the gold rush diary of William Swain, the primary source for the book, came as an undergraduate at Yale. Later, at Berkeley, he used the diary as the basis for his master's thesis, "William Swain and the Wolverine Rangers: A Study of the California Gold Rush" (1954) and his doctoral dissertation, "The California Gold Rush in Myth and Reality" (1959). In these earlier versions of the book, Holliday first developed his concept of "interpolation". He wanted to use the Swain diary to tell the story of the California gold rush as a total experience, not just as one man's account. The standard formula, then and now, for editing a gold rush diary was to write a brief introduction, supply footnotes identifying names and places mentioned in the text, and include in the notes a few comparative descriptions

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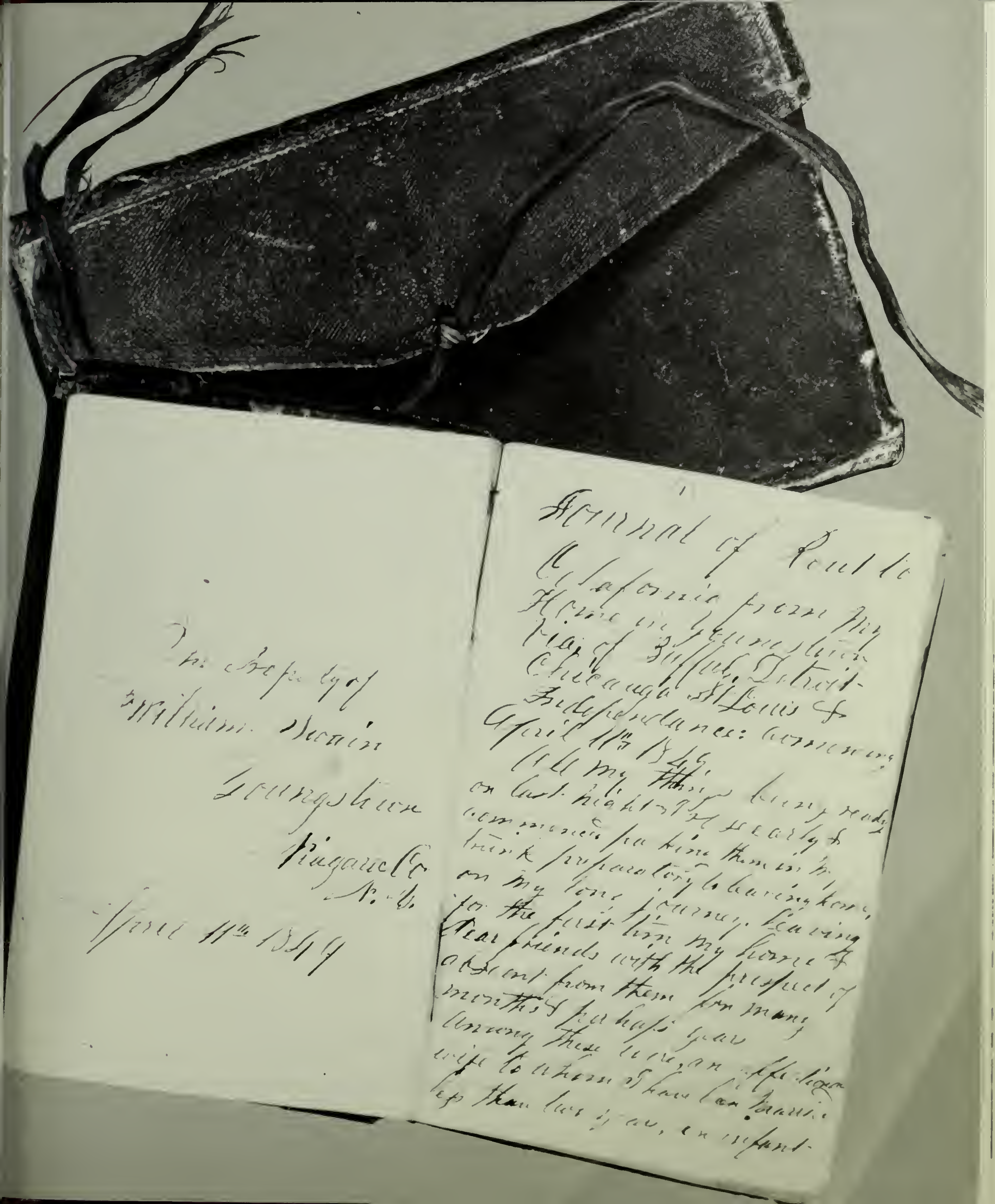
The author, an instructor of history at Diablo Valley College in Pleasant Hill, is the editor of *Dan De Quille of the Big Bonanza* (1980) and co-author with the late Walton Bean of the fourth edition of *California: An Interpretive History* (1983).



The Property of
William Swain
Youngstown
Niagara Co.
N.Y.
April 11th 1849

Journal of Route to
California from My
Home in Youngstown
via of Buffalo, Detroit,
Chicago, St Louis &
Independence: commencing
April 11th 1849.

All my things being ready
on last night I rose early to
commence packing them in my
trunk preparatory to leaving home
on my long journey, leaving
for the first time my home &
dear friends with the prospect of
absent from them for many
months & perhaps years.
Among these were an affectionate
wife to whom I have been married
less than two years, an infant

(Overleaf) William Swain's leatherbound diary offers a remarkably complete record of the gold rush experience—home, there, and back again. The opening pages read, "Journal of Rout to Calafornia from My Home in Youngstown . . . comencing April 11, 1849." Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

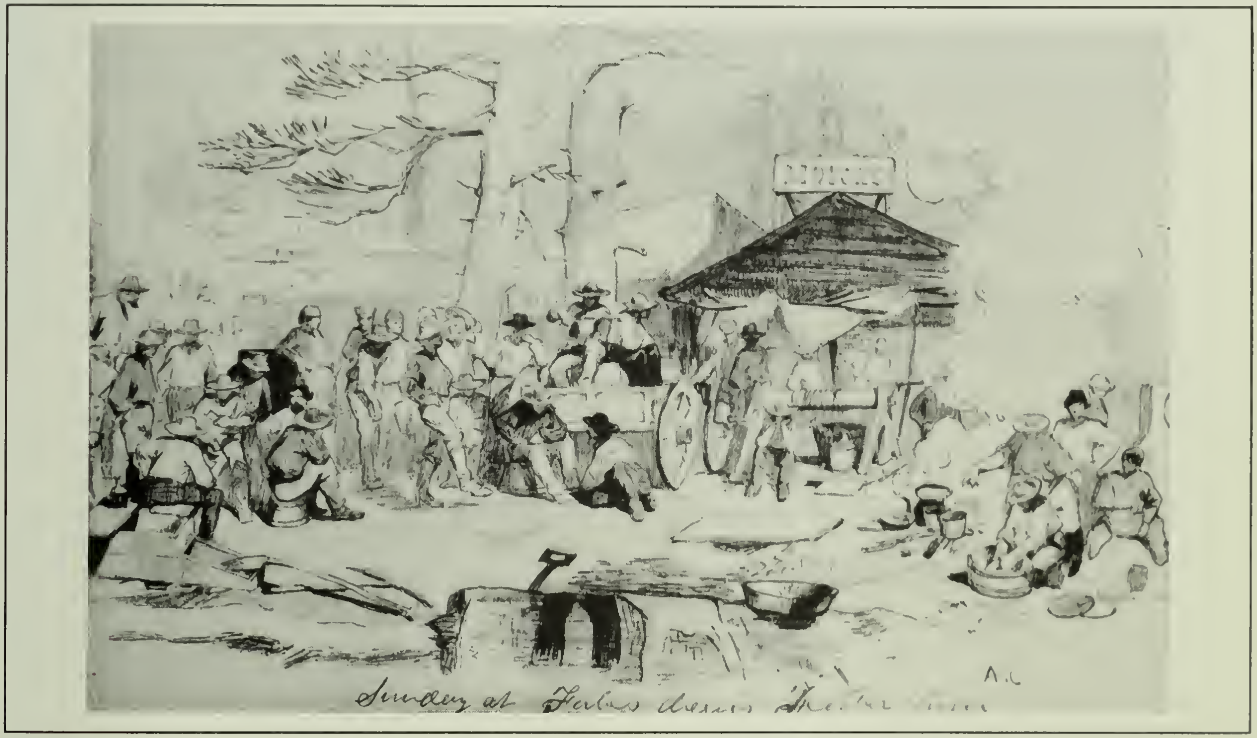
from journals of other argonauts. Holliday's ambition led him to reject this standard procedure and, instead, to interpolate within the text passages from other primary sources, sometimes supplementing Swain's account, sometimes standing in the place of Swain's words. "Each interpolation," Holliday explains in the Author's Note, "had to come from a diarist or letter writer who wrote what Swain himself might have seen, experienced or been told." Years of searching manuscript and published accounts ultimately yielded more than 800 textual interpolations. Then friends and editors advised Holliday that the book had grown far too long; thus began years of cutting, selection, and distillation.

In its final form the book tells the story of William Swain's journey from New York to California in 1849, his experiences in California from November 1849 to November 1850, and his return home, November 1850 to February 1851. Holliday opens the book with a prologue briefly surveying early California history and describing the changes wrought by the American conquest and gold discovery in 1848. Each of the following thirteen chapters is introduced with a discussion of familiar gold rush topics such as the unresolved debate over the relative merits of oxen and mules, the great overland landmarks such as Chimney Rock and Independence Rock, the terrors of the Humboldt Sink, and the evolution of mining methods, districts, and codes. At the end of most chapters is a "Back Home" section containing letters from Swain's wife Sabrina and brother George, and in an epilogue Holliday offers an interpretation of the meaning of the gold rush for California and the nation. The bulk of the text consists of Swain's diary and letters, interspersed with the interpolations of parallel observers. Although Holliday's editorial hand is evident on every page, his own narrative and interpretive prose occupies less than a third of the book's 559 pages.

As one might expect of a book so long in preparation, *The World Rushed In* is very handsomely produced. The design is crisp and pleasing; the illustrations, largely drawn from the J. Goldsborough Bruff collection at the Huntington Library, reinforce well the verbal descriptions in the text; and the maps, drafted by David L. Fuller of California State University, Northridge, are marvelously clear, reflecting the close collaboration of author and cartographer. Holliday's documentation is thorough and his bibliographical essay should serve as a useful guide to the vast literature of the gold rush. An appendix contains the roster and articles of association of the Wolverine Rangers, Swain's overland travelling company. Holliday here suggests that historians have ignored the importance of such organizations, and he calls for further research. Whatever deficiency may have existed on this score, however, has recently been filled by John Phillip Reid's *Law for the Elephant: Property and Social Behavior on the Overland Trail* (1980), a detailed analysis of the overland companies, their constitutions, property relationships, liabilities, and reasons for dissolution.

In evaluating *The World Rushed In* the inevitable question arises: How does this book add to our understanding of the California gold rush? The editing of gold rush diaries and letters is a time-honored tradition among California historians, so what is new here?

If for no other reason, *The World Rushed In* is an important book because William Swain's diary and letters themselves are a remarkably complete record of the gold rush experience. Unlike so many other accounts, William Swain's story does not end with his arrival in California. Through his letters home,



Everyday life in makeshift mining camps such as Forbes Diggings on the Feather River was liberating and unstructured by social conventions. Men like Swain, however, discovered the greater importance of family, friends, home, and tradition. CHS Fine Arts Collection

we follow Swain's life in "the diggings," and we witness his return trip through Panama back to his family in New York. Thus Holliday presents the gold rush as a cycle—home, there, and back—not just as a singular experience of migration westward. Holliday estimates that 90,000 men returned from California via Panama in the years 1849 to 1851, and he correctly notes that historians have been generally "inattentive to the final phase of the gold rush cycle." He may overstate the case a bit, however, by claiming that the homeward journey of the gold seekers has been a "heretofore unpublished story." Among previously published accounts of the return trip, for example, is the monumental edition of the papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff, edited by Georgia W. Read and Ruth Gaines and published in 1944. Holliday also acknowledges that the annual exodus from California never came close to equalling the immigration to California—from 1848 to 1852 the state's population increased by a phenomenal 2500%. Nevertheless, Holliday has provided a valuable new perspective on the gold rush by emphasizing the cyclical nature of the experience for tens of thousands of Americans.

The thoroughness of Swain's individual account is supplemented by Holliday's interpolations of parallel observers. Surely no other gold rush diary or letter collection has been subject to such a wide-ranging search for corroborating evidence. David M. Potter, for instance, in preparing for publication *Trail to California: The Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and*

Wakeman Bryarly (1945), was content to consult the diaries of 33 other forty-niners who passed along the California trail. By contrast, Holliday set himself the task of consulting *every* available gold rush diary and letter from the period 1849 and 1850. It was from this exhaustive research that Holliday was able to provide the rich interpolations which, as he intended, expand the story of William Swain beyond the vision of just one man to encompass the broad panorama of the entire gold rush experience.

The World Rushed In also stands as a remarkable achievement for its depiction of life "back home." Holliday's inclusion of 29 letters to William Swain from his brother George and wife Sabrina tell the rarely told story of those who were left behind. What is apparent from this correspondence is the enormous strain which the gold rush inflicted upon marriages and families. Sabrina Swain expresses almost unbearable anxiety during the prolonged absence of her husband. She questions whether even a fortune in gold will ever be sufficient compensation for the pain of separation. Her letters become resentful and accusatory as she describes the burden of being a single parent; the demands of their infant daughter Eliza, she confesses, are often more than she can meet. Holliday's commentary on these passages is insightful. He argues that even the miners who returned home with "rocks in their pockets" had paid a heavy price for their newfound fortunes. "For these men," Holliday observes, "California's promise had been fulfilled, and their new status in the community obscured problems of personal relationships and made their return a triumph."

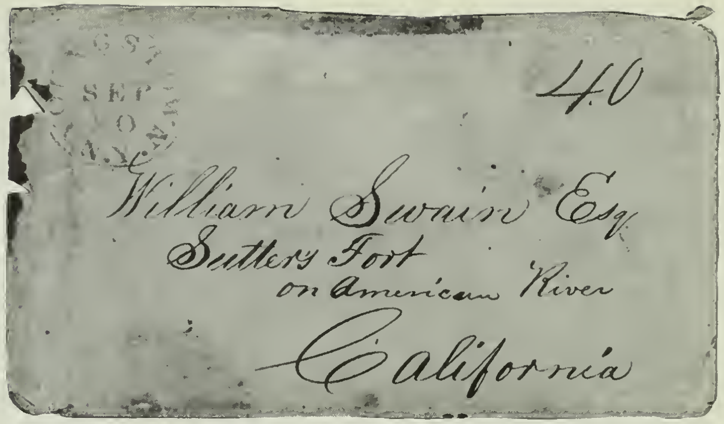
For the many who returned home from California with empty pockets, the problems were more severe. Defensive husbands faced disappointed wives as well as gossiping neighbors and inquiring creditors. Whatever their success in California, the returning forty-niners, like returning war veterans, faced the difficulties of re-entering a world of restraint, convention, and family responsibility.

Holliday is not the first, of course, to attempt to tell the story of the "California widows." Elizabeth Page, for instance, in editing the gold rush journal of her great uncle Henry Page, also included excerpts and paraphrases of letters from the family back home in Illinois. In *Wagons West: A Story of the Oregon Trail* (1930), we find expressions of anxiety, loneliness, and frustration similar to those of Sabrina Swain. *The World Rushed In*, however, places this family drama at the center of the gold rush experience, giving it a prominence and explication unmatched in any other published account. Here Holliday has made another important contribution to our understanding of that epochal event.

The most innovative quality of *The World Rushed In* is its analysis of the psychological dimensions of the gold rush. Holliday presents his story on two levels: On the surface we follow William Swain's adventures from New York to California and back, while at the same time we share in the inner struggle of Swain's passage from great expectations, through doubt, discouragement and disappointment, to the admission of defeat, and finally to a prolonged period of romanticization and reconciliation. Swain is remarkably frank in recording his disappointments, and Holliday is at his best when analyzing the evolution of Swain's psyche.

In the spring of 1849, near Independence, Swain writes to Sabrina of his prospects for success in "the land of golden promise." His goal is to clear $10,000 from the trip. Once in California, however, Swain's letters begin to take on a rather ambivalent tone. For a time he continues to speak of his own prospects with confidence, yet he confesses that he may need to stay on longer than he had intended, and he carefully admonishes his brother and others to stay at home. As Holliday explains, Swain, like thousands of

The end of the line for letters such as this one from Swain's wife Sabrina was the new Sacramento City post office. Expressmen hired by miners collected and delivered the envelopes to the mining camps for a charge of $1 to $2 each.
J.S. Holliday Collection



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William Swain Esq
Sutters Fort
on American River
California

other miners, faced a dilemma.

> They had to justify their staying in California far longer than ever expected, leaving wife and family with insufficient funds, dependent on parents and friends; had to argue that another season in the mines would surely produce success. At the same time, they had to explain why no one else should come to California.

Their anxiety was compounded by reading stories printed in the eastern newspapers of fabulous strikes still being made in California, while all about them they saw the evidence of failure and defeat.

Swain's letters home soon become more forthright. He begins to speak more openly of his disappointments and to describe California with disparagement. By April of 1850 Swain confides to Sabrina that his expectations have not been realized. Furthermore, he reports that 90 percent of the miners are downhearted and discouraged and, he adds, they have every right to be. Most are not even making expenses and many have seen "their bright daydreams of golden wealth vanish like the dreams of night." Swain's own disappointment sours him even on California's climate and leads him to dismiss the future prospects of the state. "In my judgement," he scoffs, "she lacks the essential elements of national prosperity and will be one of the poorest states of the Union."

The struggle for William Swain and countless others was to overcome pride and admit defeat, to acknowledge that all the sacrifice and suffering by themselves and their families had been for little gain. Finally, in November 1850, Swain writes from San Francisco: "I have got enough of California and am coming home as fast as I can." At the most, Swain would arrive home $800 richer than when he had left.

The theme of myth and reality, of expectation and disappointment, is certainly not unique to the papers of William Swain. Among the earliest published accounts of the gold rush, such sentiments were commonly expressed. See, for example William Shaw's *Golden Dreams and Waking Realities* (1851), George Payson's *Golden Dreams and Leaden Realities* (1853), and the acerbic Hinton Rowan Helper's *Land of Gold: Reality Versus Fiction* (1855).

The inner journey of William Swain, however, is emblematic of the experiences of thousands of other less reflective or literate forty-niners. Holliday's commentary on this journey is fresh and provocative. It is reminiscent of James D. Hart's probing interpretation of Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840). Hart, in an article first published in *The American Quarterly* in 1936, analyzed Dana's voyage to California as a trip inward as well as outward. During the course of their California sojourns, both Dana and Swain made important discoveries about themselves, discoveries which ultimately were more meaningful than any of the dramatic episodes of their physical journey west. In the case of Swain, it was a profound realization of the importance of friends and family and the protective benevolence of his Creator. It was this "just estimation of things" which Swain calculated "will abundantly repay all my toils and privations" and, he hoped, enable him "to discharge in a proper manner the duties of a member of society, a brother, son, husband, and father." William Swain failed to find his fortune in California, but in the process of looking he found himself.

J.S. Holliday

IN THE DIGGINGS

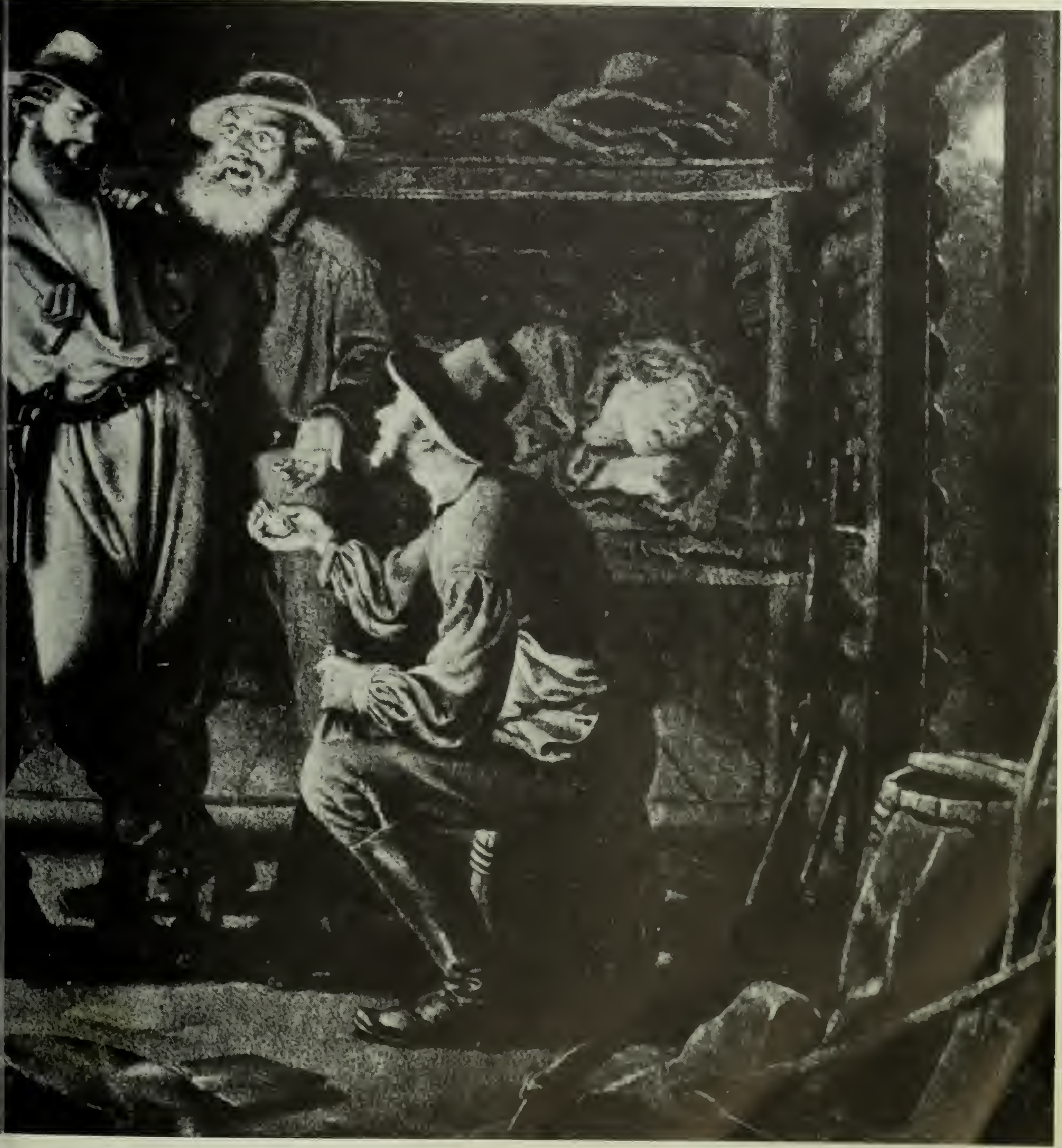
"You may rest assured that I have an older head on my shoulders by about 1,000 years than when I left the states."

On November 26, 1849, the last refugees from Lassen's Cut-off slumped down in the camps around Lassen's Ranch. Thanks to the government relief expedition, the cut-off had been cleared of the last emigrants. They were all safe, ready to dig for gold.

Back on the trail, drifts of snow covered 200 miles of collapsed and mired wagons, flapping tents, bloated carcasses and treasured possessions scattered along that route which once had promised quick entry to the gold mines.

On the Carson and Truckee trails, those who crossed the Sierra Nevada in September and even October had an easy time compared to what had happened on Lassen's. But wherever and whenever they set up their first camps in California, the goldseekers had no way of knowing how many thousands had reached the mines ahead of them. They remembered the crowds at Independence or St. Joseph and the long lines of wagons along the Platte; they recalled reports of other trails to California and of ships sailing from New York crowded with goldseekers.

Excerpts from "In the Diggings," Chapter 10 of The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience *by J.S. Holliday (Simon and Schuster, 1981), are reproduced with the permission of J.S. Holliday and Simon and Schuster.*



By the glow of the fire, miners survey the "results of the day" in their tiny windowless cabin. Charles Nahl issued this romantic lithograph c. 1851.
CHS Fine Arts Collection

A place without homes, a boom town of men, San Francisco was given over entirely to business, speculation and entertainment.

But no one in the fall of 1849 sensed or foresaw the magnitude of the rush to California.

Far to the south of the Carson, Truckee and Lassen trails, some 10,000 more overlanders completed their unforgettable journeys after months on the Santa Fe trail or one of the several routes that led from Texas and Vera Cruz across Mexico. Many of these companies found themselves by fall in the West Coast ports of San Blas, Mazatlán and even Acapulco, where they finally obtained ships to carry them to California.

By all the overland routes at least 42,000 goldseekers reached California between late July and the end of 1849. As well, about 6,000 Mexicans from Sonora emigrated to the mining region, where they added to the population of Sonorans—"foreigners"—who had come there in 1848. . . .

By the end of December 1849, 697 vessels had entered San Francisco Bay, delivering more than 41,000 Americans and foreigners, of whom fewer than 800 were women. Most of those ships were deserted by their crews, left to rot on mudflats or to creak at anchor, until in later years some would be resurrected to carry thousands back to the States.

The 89,000 goldseekers were not settlers or pioneers in the tradition of America's westward migration. These people came as exploiters, transients, ready to take, not to build. Whether in the diggings or in San Francisco, Sacramento City, or Stockton, they found themselves surrounded by crowds of hurrying men concerned only with how to make the greatest amount of money in the shortest time. With that common motive, they also shared an indifference toward California and its future. No one knew where he might be next week, maybe headed home or working a claim on Sutter Creek. No one wanted to be tied down and burdened by social responsibility. There were no jails; justice was inflicted quickly so as not to delay those called upon to pass judgment. In a world of strangers, in a place without evidence of government, religion or law, the goldseekers felt free to grasp for fortune. Like soldiers in a foreign land, it would be easy for many of them to slough off the social codes and moral precepts that had been enforced by family, friends and the influence of the church.

Arriving in California with their expectations still defined by what they had heard before leaving the States, hoping to achieve the quick successes that had been common and so widely reported in 1848, the men of '49 were dismayed to see so many miners along the banks of the American, Feather, Mokelumne and other rivers. They faced a reality that some must have anticipated and feared: too many goldseekers had come to El Dorado.

In 1848 a maximum of 6,000 worked the diggings. By December 1849 there were at least 40,000 miners in the same area. While the '48ers had always been able to find a place to dig and had usually been quickly rewarded, the crowds in the fall of '49 found many of the rivers and their tributaries already claimed. In San Francisco, Sacramento City and Stockton and in the hill towns of Placerville, Mokelumne Hill, Sonora, Nevada City, Volcano and other settlements, another 40,000 men and a few women prepared to go into the mines or sought their fortunes in burgeoning business opportunities. Each day several thousand gave up their hopes and made plans to return home. . . .

For the thousands who came by sea, the first reality was San Francisco, a place of frantic growth. From the ship-crowded waterfront to the sandy hills, they heard the sounds of construction, the shouts of auctioneers and the music of gambling saloons. Boxes, bags, barrels, crates of foodstuffs and merchandise were stacked and piled in the mud and stagnant water of the streets. Scores of tents and canvas-covered structures flapped and swayed next to wooden and iron buildings shipped in from the states. A place without homes, a boom town of men, San Francisco was given over entirely to business, speculation and entertainment. Auction houses, hotels, bathhouses, groggeries, billiard rooms, boardinghouses, eating and drinking houses, two- and four-story office buildings, banks and scores of gambling saloons—all these, along with "dens of lewd women," crowded the steep and filthy streets. . . .

In August, San Francisco's population was estimated at 6,000, by November 15,000. But it mattered little, so many were transients. Of the thousands who arrived each month by ship, most headed for the mines after a few days of San Francisco's temptations. . . .

Not only thousands of would-be and former miners passed through San Francisco but everything that the new Californian needed, from whiskey to nails. Merchants in New York and other ports sent ships around Cape Horn loaded with whatever they thought would sell in the California market: tons of flour and pork, boxes of needles, bundles of shovels, axes and picks, thousands of yards of canvas, lumber in quantity and all sizes, boots, blankets, woolen clothing, mirrors, chandeliers, mahogany furniture, champagnes and wines, food of all kinds from canned oysters to cheeses. More important to the men of California than anything else, ocean steamers brought tons of mail. On August 26, 1849, the steamer *Panama* delivered to the overwhelmed San Francisco post office bags with 25,000 letters. Future shipments would double that number.

Inasmuch as the gold region with scores of mining camps and several towns offered a far greater market than San Francisco, most of the imports were loaded onto smaller boats for the 150-mile passage up the Sacramento or San Joaquin rivers to Sacramento City or Stockton. Sacramento City served as the commercial and transport center for the northern mines scattered along the tributaries of the Sacramento River, while Stockton was equally important for the southern mines on the tributaries of the San Joaquin. From a few wooden shanties and canvas-covered structures in the spring, both settlements grew rapidly during the summer of 1849. Then in the fall they felt the impact of the overlanders' needs for food tents, boots, blankets, and everything else abandoned n the trails. In both cities, warehouses, hotels, stores, restaurants and gambling halls were built of logs, canvas, sheet iron, bricks—whatever could be found, purchased or cannibalized. Along the rivers' banks scores of ships were tied up, their cargoes stacked under the sycamore and cottonwood trees. As at San Francisco, many of these vessels had been abandoned by their crews, and merchants had taken them as storehouses and hotels.

Few if any of the miners, businessmen, merchants, shippers, speculators, bankers, gamblers—the thousands of men in the instant cities and scores of mining camps—paused that fall of 1849 to consider what wondrous changes had been accomplished in a matter of months: village to metropolis at San Francisco, wilderness to thriving ports at Sacramento City and Stockton, canyons and gulches to one-street mining towns, quiet rivers to commercial thoroughfares—everywhere the sounds of growth, business and high hopes. It had all been done without technology. Except for the ocean-going sidewheelers that came into San Francisco Bay, there were few if any steam engines as yet in California. Mining techniques were primitive, building materials and methods simple; transport was by sail, muleback or wagon, and communication by interminable mail. The motive forces had been avarice, impatience, inventiveness and optimism.

Yankee enterprise and investment accelerated the transformation of California. Delivery of everything the mining region needed came by sailing vessels upriver from San Francisco, a voyage that took three to ten days. With demand so great and prices fluctuating wildly from day to day, merchants and speculators needed faster, more reliable transport for their merchandise. In response, East Coast businessmen shipped three disassembled steamboats to San Francisco. Launched in September, they replaced the uncertainty of sail with the dependability of steam; but they were too small to carry tons of freight and hundreds of passengers. Beginning in October, larger steamers that had sailed around Cape Horn established ten-to-twelve-hour scheduled service between San Francisco and the river ports. The first of what the San Francisco newspapers admiring described as "floating palaces," the 750-ton *Senator* made a profit of over $60,000 each month during the first year of operation. Freight charges of $40 and more per ton from San Francisco to Sacramento City exceeded the cost of shipping the same goods from New York to the booming Pacific port.

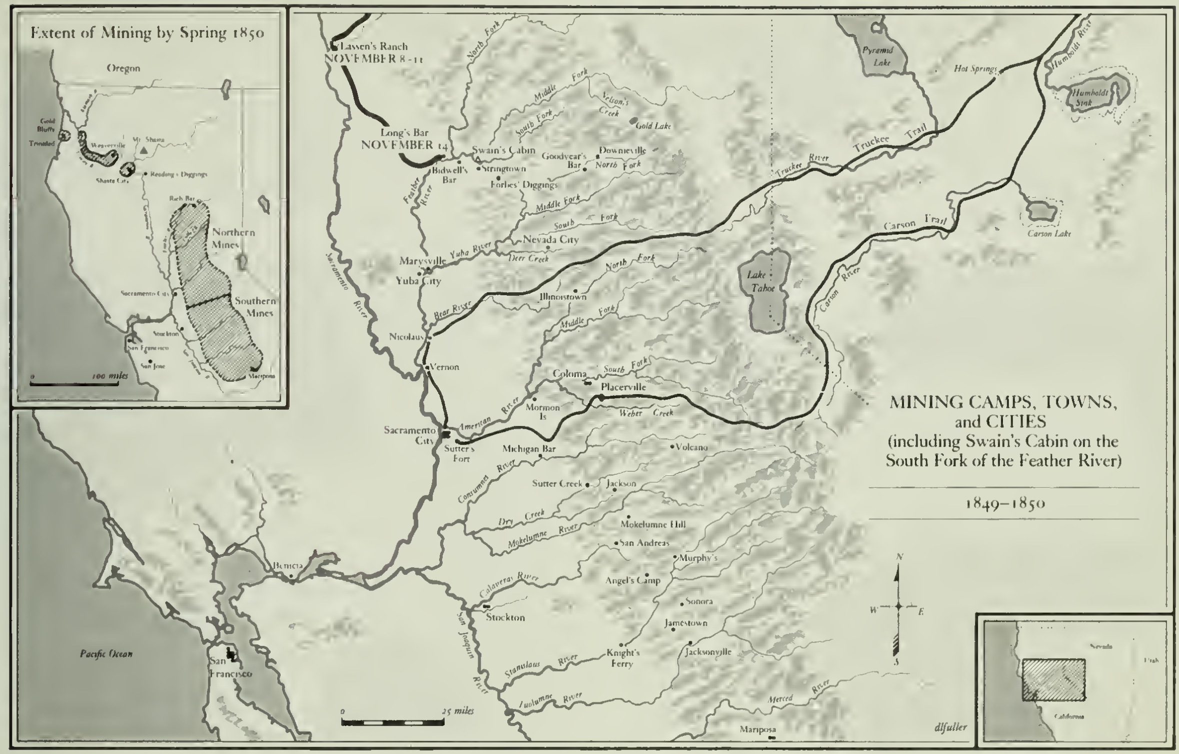
While the river transport system was modernized, getting the barrels of flour, kegs of pork and liquor, bags of beans, bales, sacks and boxes from the river ports up to the mining camps and towns depended on wagons and pack mules. Each day throughout the dry season (May to October or November) hundreds of mule- and ox-drawn wagons set out from Sacramento City and Stockton over dusty roads, headed upcountry to the stores, hotels, and gambling saloons. In country too steep for wagons, long trains of pack mules followed trails that climbed high along narrow ridges and descended sharply to remote collections of miners' tents and shanties. Even the sure-footed mules, "clipper ships of the mountains," were often delayed by storms, mountain slides or deep snowdrifts which made packing hazardous and sometimes impossible. But great profits could be made in this trade, with the packers charging as much as 75 cents per pound.

By spring 1850, competition among steamboats, freighters and packers would drive prices down, easing the risks of the small merchants and the living expenses of the miners. But meantime, with gold seemingly inexhaustible and the population vastly increased, the forces were obviously at hand to create a staggering inflation. . . .

The economy was based on gold production, but no one knew just how much was being mined, put into circulation and shipped back to the States or to Europe, Mexico and South America. Such statistics were calculated in later years, but even then they would reflect considerable uncertainty. Estimates of gold production for 1848 ranged from $245,000 to $10 million, with similar imprecision for 1849: $10 million to $40 million. Whatever the actual numbers, the fact was that California boomed on gold, with production reaching a more accurate total of $81 million in 1852.

As with the sum, so the parts reported in 1849 contrasted widely, from the many miners who panned one or two ounces each day—$16 to $32—to the lucky few who struck it rich. Two men on the Yuba River reported on November 4 that after two weeks' work "we have got $5,000." A company of miners on the American River as of August 30 "had raised in three days over $15,000." Not only the newspapers trumpeted these successes; they were reported and exaggerated by miners, packers and gamblers moving from one mining camp to another.

Everyone eagerly believed the stories of success,



MINING CAMPS, TOWNS, and CITIES
(including Swain's Cabin on the South Fork of the Feather River)

1849–1850

Extent of Mining by Spring 1850
Oregon
Gold Bluffs
Trinidad
Weaverville
Mt. Shasta
Shasta City
Reading's Diggings
Rich Bar
Northern Mines
Southern Mines
Sacramento City
Stockton
San Francisco
San Jose
Mariposa
0
100 miles
Lassen's Ranch
NOVEMBER 8-11
Long's Bar
NOVEMBER 14
North Fork
Middle Fork
Nelson's Creek
Gold Lake
South Fork
Swain's Cabin
Goodyear's Bar
Downieville
North Fork
Bidwell's Bar
Stringtown
Forbes' Diggings
Feather River
Middle Fork
South Fork
Nevada City
Yuba River
Deer Creek
Marysville
Yuba City
Sacramento River
North Fork
Illinoistown
Bear River
Middle Fork
Nicolaus
Vernon
Coloma
South Fork
Placerville
Mormon Is
American River
Weber Creek
Sacramento City
Sutter's Fort
Michigan Bar
Volcano
Consumnes River
Sutter Creek
Jackson
Dry Creek
Mokelumne River
Mokelumne Hill
San Andreas
Murphy's
Angel's Camp
Benicia
Calaveras River
Stockton
Sonora
Jamestown
San Joaquin River
Pacific Ocean
San Francisco
Stanislaus River
Knight's Ferry
Jacksonville
Tuolumne River
Merced River
Mariposa
0
25 miles
dlfuller
Pyramid Lake
Hot Springs
Humboldt River
Humboldt Sink
Truckee Trail
Truckee River
Carson Trail
Carson Lake
Lake Tahoe
Carson River
N
W
E
S
Nevada
Utah
California

old-timers who had been mining since spring '49 and newcomers from ships or overland trails. They all needed reassurance that, despite the crowds of miners, California's rivers, creekbeds and dry diggings could still yield the sudden fortunes that would justify months of unrewarding work or weary travel. Especially anxious to hear of rich strikes were the thousands who arrived in November after the disaster on Lassen's Cut-off or after a voyage long delayed by a rough passage around Cape Horn.

William Swain was among those November latecomers—he and Frederick Bailey, Michael Hutchinson, John Root, James Pratt, Horace Ladd and the other Rangers, all trying to decide where to stake their claims in a world they had long anticipated and now entered with anxiety. . . .

When Swain and Bailey left Lassen's Ranch on November 11, they set out over a well-marked trail for the Feather River. After a three-day hike, they reached a mining camp called Long's Bar, a collection of squalid shacks and tents along the Feather where some two thousand miners crowded together, most of them driven from their claims by the rising waters of the river and its forks. Swain and Bailey found Michael Hutchinson there, and with two other Rangers they agreed to form a mining partnership. Purchasing high-priced provisions at Long's Trading Post, they packed their supplies and mining tools on their backs and followed a muddy trail over a high ridge and down to the South Fork of the Feather, where they staked a claim at the edge of the roaring stream. . . .

While few of the words and phrases that had been used to describe California would prove to be accurate, the most common was the most precise: in the diggings. Digging was the constant and endless task that faced every miner. Digging on a river bar in sand, gravel and rocks, between massive boulders, some of which had to be pushed aside. Digging in a dust-dry gulch hundreds of yards from the cool sounds of rushing water. Always digging, down and down through the eons of accumulation of rock and gravel that dulled pickaxes and bent shovels. Down six, eight, ten feet to reach bedrock, where the gold in flakes, granules or coarse nuggets—some several ounces large—would be found by weary miners whose hearts would leap and voices shout in triumph.

Even in 1848 when success came quickly to a few thousand miners and campfire stories sent men hurrying to the latest strike, even then the labor of digging had been universal. Whether at Mokelumne Hill in the southern mines or Rough and Ready to the north, the gold had to be dug from beneath the overlay of sand, gravel and rock. Through 1848 and most of 1849 the miners depended on the pan and the rocker to separate the gold. Simple to operate and easily portable, these "machines" remained dominant as long as the miners' nomadic impulse was sustained by new discoveries or the belief that such discoveries could be made by prospecting even further upstream. Thousands of newcomers were reluctant to give up the methods of their predecessors. No one wanted to invest time and money in complex machinery that would require months—maybe years—to achieve profitability, and, worse, would prevent joining the rush to the latest discovery.

By fall '49 there were few new discoveries and the old diggings were overwhelmed by miners. Gold could still be found, but no longer in such easy abundance. More efficient mining methods were called for—and so the long tom came into use.

It was simply an enlarged rocker, eight to fifteen feet in length. With its upper end attached to a flume or ditch which delivered a constant stream of water, the long tom allowed three or four men to wash great quantities of dirt dug by others at their claim. Because this primitive improvement in mining technology reduced the cost—the time and effort—of washing each cubic yard of dirt, miners could work claims that would have been unprofitable with only pan and rocker.

As important as was the tom, an even greater gain in efficiency came from the use of mercury or quicksilver, which was being mined south of San Francisco at New Almaden. Because this element has an affinity for gold, it was placed along the riffles or cleats, the obstacles on the bottom of the tom over which the water carried the gold-bearing sand and gravel. With this magnet, even the smallest specks of gold were held and amalgamated with the mercury. At the end of the day the men scraped the mercury from the riffles and heated it until it turned to vapor, releasing the gold. When cooled to its liquid form, the mercury was ready to be used the next day.

As science slowly replaced luck, as patience competed with impulse, other changes evolved during the fall of 1849. By far the most important was river mining. Living week after week along the rocky banks of the many rivers, looking at those roaring, winter-high waters that tumbled down from the Sierra Nevada, the miners believed—they knew—that for thousands of years the river bottoms had accumulated great deposits of gold, lodged in crevices, stored in potholes, piled up behind great boulders. Safe from all the digging of 1848, gold awaited the men who could devise a means of harvesting such a treasure. The concept satisfied both imagination and avarice. Building dams, flumes and races to divert the rivers would require steady labor for many months, some skill and considerable money to pay the costs of feeding the men and buying equipment. To meet this challenge, companies would have to be formed, not unlike those organized for the overland journey.

Thus a major change evolved—from individual, nomadic prospecting with simple, portable equipment to a commitment by a group of men on a single claim to invest months of effort in a complex, cooperative project. Here was Yankee enterprise and inventiveness at its best: move the Sierra's rivers, force them out of their ancient channels, lay bare the rivers' beds.

By January 1850, when Swain and his partners came to the South Fork, river mining had become the ambition of most miners. The great idea had been tried with encouraging success along the Feather and the American rivers in the fall of '49, before the winter rains turned those streams into raging torrents that swept away the miners' barriers. The Swain partners staked a claim where they believed they could build a dam after the snows had melted and the river receded. Meantime, they cut down pine trees and built a log cabin on the slope above the river. They did some prospecting in ravines and gullies some distance from the swollen river, washing a few shovels of dirt and gravel in their pans, searching for the specks of yellow that might justify a more serious effort, while waiting for the weather to allow the start of river mining. . . .

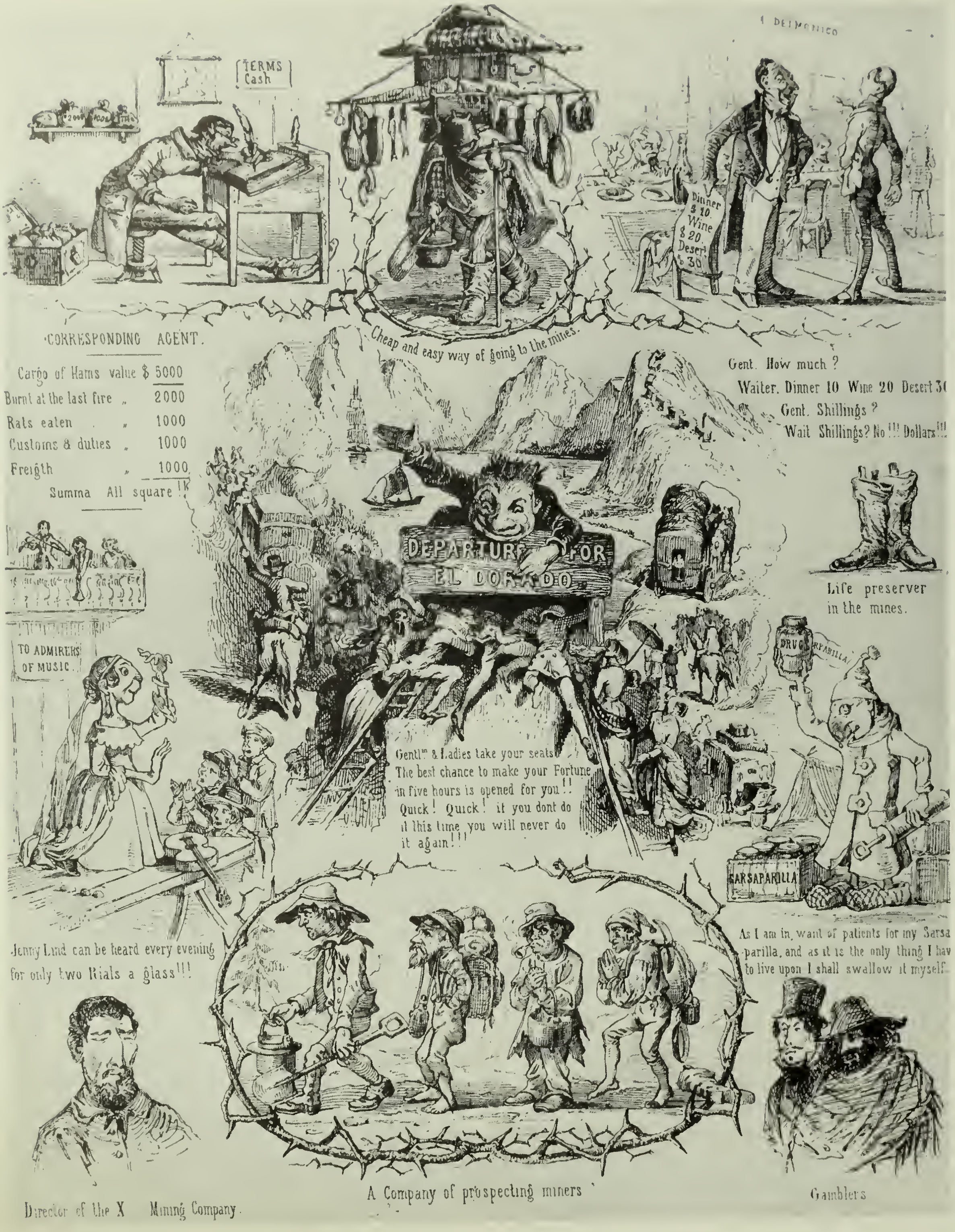
William Swain wrote his first letter from California on December 13—but this report of his safe arrival, so anxiously awaited in Youngstown, never reached the Swains. Sabrina, George and Mrs. Swain were without news of William for seven months, from September 10 when they received his last letter written on the trail at Fort Laramie until April 10, 1850. On that date his letter of January 6 from his claim on the South Fork was read in the Swains' cobblestone house. After their excitement quieted, the Swains shared the letter. . . .

For Swain the silence from Youngstown would not end until March 3, when for the first time in almost a year he would read of home and know that Sabrina and Little Cub, George and his mother had all survived cholera, lesser diseases and imagined accidents. . . .

As the miners longed for letters, they cursed the agency responsible for delivering them. The United States Post Office Department had failed utterly to prepare for the growth of California's population and the clamorous demand for mail service. The special agent sent to set up post offices did not arrive until February 1849; his instructions provided for offices at San Diego, San Pedro, Santa Barbara, Monterey and San Francisco. Month by month the Pacific Mail steamships' cargoes of letters increased. On October 31, 1849, more than 45,000 letters "besides uncounted bushels of newspapers" were piled into the San Francisco post office, where the clerks found it necessary to barricade themselves as protection from the shouting, pounding, threatening crowd. To prevent a general riot, the supplicants finally were persuaded to form lines "which extended all the way down the hill into Porstmouth Square and the man at the tail of the longest line might count on spending six hours in it before reaching the window. Those who were near the goal frequently sold out their places to impatient candidates for $10 and and even $25. Indeed, several persons in want of money practiced this game daily as a means of living. Vendors of pies, cakes, and newspapers established themselves in front of the office to supply the crowd, while others did a profitable business by carrying cans of coffee up and down the lines."

More than 45,000 letters besides uncounted bushels of newspapers were piled into the San Francisco post office, where the clerks found it necessary to barricade themselves as protection from the shouting, pounding, threatening crowd.

In November 1849 a post office was opened at Sacramento City, but the problem remained: How to get the letters to the mining camps up in the hills? Once again Yankee enterprise took over. Sensing a profit to be made, many miners left their claims to go into the business of collecting mail at the San Francisco and Sacramento City post offices and de-


TERMS Cash
CORRESPONDING AGENT.
Cargo of Hams value $ 5000
Burnt at the last fire „ 2000
Rats eaten „ 1000
Customs & duties „ 1000
Freigth „ 1000
Summa All square !!K
Cheap and easy way of going to the mines.
DELMONICO
Dinner $ 10. Wine $ 20. Desert $ 30
Gent. How much ?
Waiter. Dinner 10 Wine 20 Desert 3
Gent. Shillings ?
Wait Shillings? No !!! Dollars!!!
DEPARTURE FOR EL DORADO
Life preserver in the mines.
TO ADMIRERS OF MUSIC.
Jenny Lind can be heard every evening for only two Rials a glass!!!
Gentl^m & Ladies take your seats!
The best chance to make your Fortune in five hours is opened for you!!
Quick! Quick! if you dont do it this time you will never do it again!!!
DRUGS
SARSAPARILLA
As I am in want of patients for my Sarsa
parilla, and as it is the only thing I hav
to live upon I shall swallow it myself.
Director of the X Mining Company.
A Company of prospecting miners
Gamblers

California's earliest lithographers, as well as stay-at-home eastern satirists, poked fun at the naive expectations and ill-preparedness of California-bound gold seekers in lettersheets such as this one printed c. 1852 by Quirot.
California Historical Society Fine Arts Collection

livering it to the camps and towns. These expressmen traveled everywhere, to the most remote camps, wherever a merchant kept a list on which miners could record their names. Each month the expressmen took their lists to the post offices to collect letters and newspapers for their subscribers. They charged $1 to $2 per letter delivered and usually 50 cents for a letter taken to the post office. Through this system, which became ever more competitive as the number of expressmen and express companies increased, the miners obtained their letters from the States.

Though frustrating and expensive, this mail system did provide, as Swain phrased it, "a line of communication . . . until we can converse with our tongues." Having packed away his diary to be preserved as the record of his overland journey, Swain used his letters to tell of his California experiences. So it was with most overland diarists. . . . Their diaries had told of the journey. The search for gold was just beginning and would be an experience they could share by mail.

The excerpt which follows is a portion of Chapter 10, "In the Diggings," and includes William Swain's correspondence from January 6 to March 17, 1850. Swain and his companions had just completed their overland journey, having arrived in California in the state's far northeast corner. Their relatively late arrival in the diggings was the consequence of their late departure from Independence and their mistaken notion that the Lassen Cutoff was a true shortcut. As they were just beginning their ascent of the Warner Range, at least 20,000 other miners had already arrived in the gold regions over the Carson and Truckee trails. The Swain party's arrival at the ranch of Peter Lassen on the Sacramento came nearly six months after leaving the Missouri.

The selection reprinted here provides an important transition from Swain's experiences on the overland trail to his impressions of life in California. The letters also reveal the transition in Swain's thought, from the hopeful promise of January—"there is an abundance of gold here"—to the disappointment of March—"We have found some gold, but . . . it will not be so profitable as we expected." Perhaps the most interesting letter in all the Swain correspondence is his letter of January 6. Here we begin to sense the dimensions of Swain's dilemma as he reassures the folks back home of his good prospects and yet warns those who are contemplating joining him: "For God's sake think not of it."

The "joint stock company" referred to by Swain in his January 6 letter is the Wolverine Rangers, the 58 men from Marshall, Michigan, which Swain and his friends from New York had joined in Independence. The letters are addressed to Swain's brother George and wife Sabrina on the family farm in Youngstown, New York, north of Niagara Falls. References to the "Little Cub" or "little Sister" are to Swain's daughter Eliza, born in June of 1848. William Swain himself had been born in Youngstown in 1821, and thus he began his epic journey to California at the age of twenty-seven.

Not included in this excerpt are footnotes identifying the sources for Holliday's introductory material and for the interpolations which appear in brackets in the text. Full documentation of course is provided in the book. Also, portions of Swain's letters have been deleted, as has the "Back Home" section containing the letters of George and Sabrina.

January 6, 1850
South Fork of Feather River
25 miles from Long's Trading Post, and
16 miles above Bidwell's Trading Post

Dear George,

It is so long a time since I wrote you and I have passed through so many scenes and changes of condition that I scarcely know what to say among the multitude of things I wish to write. . . .

We arrived at Lawson's Ranch on the 8th day of

November, tired and worn down with toil and exposure but hardy, healthy, and in good spirits, buoyant with hope. We were in the Sacramento Valley in the rainy season, destitute of provisions, without shelter, and everything eatable worth from $1 to $1.50 per pound. In fact, all was dear but rain and mud which was everywhere.

We rested three days and put out for the Feather River mines, where we arrived on the 14th of November at Long's Trading Post, the first mines on this stream. ["Over two thousand people were living there in tents, wagons, and small cloth houses. Many were fearful of starving. . . . The roads were impassable for teams in the valley and consequently the supply of provisions was small." The settlement was scattered on both sides of the river. "Wherever the eye wandered on the slopes and in the ravines close to the edge of the river, tents were pitched. . . ." "There were fifteen to twenty stores" and the Batavia Hotel, "a comfortable house of canvas and logs." "The river was about 100 yards wide, running like a torrent through a narrow gorge in the mountains which are piled up on either side to the height of one thousand feet."]

. . . Mr. Hutchinson had packed through on his pony from the summit where we dissolved the joint stock company that we started with from Independence. He, Mr. Bailey, myself, and Mr. Samuel J. Moore of Calhoun County, Michigan, a Methodist preacher; and Lt. Franklin Cannon of Manchester, Michigan, have agreed to work in the mines on the joint [share equally] principle.

From all that Mr. Hutchinson had learned and that we could hear, we judged the South Fork of the Feather River to be the most likely to yield a pile another summer, for the following reasons: the main part of the Feather River and all the southern rivers had been overrun and consequently the best and richest placers found and worked. The South Fork of the Feather River was reported to be rich, and the gold on it coarse and not much worked. [In fact, the South Fork "had been but little prospected until late Fall, and as late as December there were but three or four cabins for the distance of twenty miles above Bidwell's Bar."] There is good timber for building (not the case on many of the streams of California), which with us is an important consideration as we believed our health next summer depended upon having dry, warm, and comfortable habitation during the rainy season. . . .

In late November we bought provisions at Long's Trading Post and took packs of fifty pounds each. ["Nobody moves here without his bed on his back, takes a pick, pan, and shovel, firearms and ammunition."] We traveled over the mountains for twenty-five miles through rain, mud and clouds and arrived on the South Fork on the third day. ("The descent to the river is one mile and a half, from an altitude of 2,500 feet—rapid, rough, rocky, precipitous, slippery and slideing."]

After prospecting two days, we located a spot favorable for damming and draining the river. We made our claim, and then built a house as soon as possible to shelter our heads from the soaking rains. So here we are, snug as schoolmarms, working at our race and dam. Whenever the rain will permit, a fall of the river will enable us to get into the bed of the river and know what is there. If there is no gold, we shall be off to another place, for there is an abundance of gold here, and if we are blessed with health, we are determined to have a share of it. . . .

You may have some curiosity to know something about our location and dwelling. Our house is a log cabin, sixteen by twenty feet. It is covered with boughs of cedar and is made of nut pine logs from one to two feet in diameter, so that it is quite a blockhouse. It has a good door made of cedar boards hewn out of cedar logs, but no window. It faces the south and is on the north side of the river. In the east end is a family fireplace, in which large backlogs are burning night and day. At the west end is a bedstead framed into the logs of the cabin and running from side to side. The cords of the bedstead are strips of rawhide, crossing at every three inches, thus forming a bottom tight enough to hold large armfuls of dry breaks gathered from the sides of the mountains, which make a substitute for feather beds. On these are our blankets and buffalo skins. Altogether it makes a comfortable bed. Over the fireplace are our rifles, which are ever ready, cocked and primed, and frequently yield us good venison. In the other corner may be seen our cupboard with its contents, which consist of a few wooden and tin dishes, bottles, knives and forks and spoons, tin frying pan, boiler, and coffee pot.

Around the sides of the cabin at various points are the few articles of clothing belonging to the different members of the company. Under the bed are five cakes of tallow, under the bunk are three or four large bags of flour. Along the point of the roof is a line of dried beef and sixty or seventy pounds of suet. And out at the corner of the house in a large trough made of pine may be found salt beef in the pickle, in abundance.

At ten in the evening you might see in this cabin, while everything is still, a fire blazing up from the mass of fuel in the large fireplace, myself and Hutchinson on one end of the bedstead, Lt. Cannon on the other, Mr. Bailey stretched before the fire in his blankets on the ground floor, and Moore in his bunk. On the roof the incessant rain keeps up its perpetual patter, while the foaming stream howls out a requiem of the rushing torrent as it dashes on its way to the valley. And here, wakeful and listless, are the members of other circles too. But often the mind is far away, filled with other scenes, far distant homes, and relatives.

> *On the Yuba River, miners' law required that "if a man steals, they flog him for the first offense; second offense they crop his ears, and third, they hang him."*

In front of our cabin a mountain rises from the edge of the river two thousand feet and hides the sun till ten o'clock in the day. Its top is often covered with snow. The live oak and numerous other mountain evergreens, besides the pine and cedar, green as spring, are loaded with snow near the mountain top and dripping with rain on its side and base. And this is only a specimen of the hills and scenery on all sides of us.

The following is a list of prices current per pound when we arrived at Long's Bar: pork, $1.25; beans from 75 cents to $1; sugar, 75 cents; coffee, 50 cents; tea, $2.50; saleratus, $6; vinegar, $5; pickaxes and tin pans, $8 apiece; coffee pots, $6 to $8; frying pans, $6.

These prices were caused by the rains which commenced six weeks earlier this year than last and consequently found the merchants in the mines without having laid in their winter's stock. [Before the rains started in early November, supplies were shipped from Sacramento City by freight wagon and "hauling provisions and teaming generally paid more than well. Early in the season a man could get $800 to take three thousand pounds to the mines." But after the rains began, "the ground was so soft that it mired teams down so deep it was impossible to get them out, and they had to be left to die or to be shot." A man who saw freight wagons two miles above Sacramento City on November 13 reported "many teams stalled to their wagon beds in the muddy road and oxen firmly mired up to their bellies. Some were being pulled out with chains around their horns by

By the time Swain reached the gold fields, panning had been superseded by more efficient methods of river mining. This daguerreotype from late 1850 shows a flume, probably in the Feather or Yuba River mines.
Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

other cattle, while bundles of hay before those waiting their turns showed them to have been mired some time."]

. . . We found the most extraordinary state of morals in the mines. Everything in this country is left where the owner wished to leave it, in any place no matter where, as such a thing as stealing is not known.

["The security we enjoy here would astonish dwellers in what are called well-organized societies where bolts and bars secure every door and safe, and vigilant watchmen are about. We leave our tents containing our gold and chattels with none to guard them, to be absent all day, without a thought. Prospectors are constantly traveling to and fro." "The general honesty . . . is usually attributed to the prompt and severe punishment always ready for offenders. . . . Arrest, trial and punishment rarely occupy more than a few hours. . . . No warrants, indictments, or appeals delay proceedings. . . . The miners are anxious to get back to their work and the prisoner is not long kept in suspense."

[In the absence of any governmental authority, police or jails, the miners on each river established their own laws. On the South Fork there were "two cases of theft. One of the men was flogged with 100 lashes and the other 150. The latter died from the flogging." Over the ridge on the Yuba River, miners' law required that "if a man steals, they flog him for the first offense; second offense they crop his ears, and third, they hang him." On the North Fork of the American River "a man stole $300 and had both his ears cut off and the letter 'T' branded in his cheek. Theft consequently is of rare occurrence."]

. . . George, I tell you this mining among the mountains is a dog's life. A man has to make a jackass of himself packing loads over mountains that God never designed man to climb, a barbarian by foregoing all the comforts of civilized life, and a heathen by depriving himself of all communication with men away from his immediate circle. ["We see nothing here but hills, mountains and rocks . . . no farming operations, no meetings, no horses and carriages or cattle, no female society—hear no music except the occasional squeaking of a hoarse fiddle in some lone cabin, and the croaking of ravens, the chattering of woodpeckers and the roaring of the Rio de Los Plumas. . . ."]

There was some talk between us of your coming to this country. For God's sake think not of it. Stay at home. Tell all whom you know that are thinking of coming that they have to sacrifice everything and face danger in all its forms, for George, thousands have laid and will lay their bones along the routes to and in this country. Tell all that "death is in the pot" if they attempt to cross the plains and hellish mountains. . . .

My health has been extremely good since I arrived here. I am fifteen pounds heavier than when I left home and measured six feet last evening. A slight attack of rheumatism in the left hip has given me some trouble for a few days.

You may think from the tenor of this letter that I am sick of my job, but not so. I have not seen the hour yet when I regretted starting for California, nor have any one of our little party ever regretted that we undertook the enterprise. I have seen hard times, faced the dangers of disease and exposure and perils of all kinds, but I count them nothing if they enable me to place myself and family in comfortable circumstances.

Now you will think that there is a contradiction in the advice that I gave you and others about coming to California and the declaration of my own satisfaction that I have performed the journey. The fact is that gold is plenty here and the accounts received before I left home did not exaggerate the reality. Therefore I am glad that I am here. But the time is past—if it ever existed—when fortunes could be obtained for picking them up. Gold is found in the most rocky and

rough places, and the streams and bars that are rich are formed of huge rocks and stones. In such places, you will see, it requires robust labor and hard tugging and lifting to separate the gold from the rock. But this is nothing to the risk of life run in traveling to this country. Therefore, if I was at home and knew all the circumstances, I think I should stay at home; but having passed those dangers in safety, I thank God that I am here in so favorable circumstances.

[Other miners more easily discouraged, admitted after only a few days' work that "if there had been a vessel lying upon the Feather River bound for New Orleans, there was not one of us who would not rather have stepped on board than to have gone one step farther in search of gold, for our prospects are truly gloomy. . . . Almost every man we meet who has been in the mines is wishing himself out of this country." "Two-thirds of the people that are here would go home immediately if they had the means. . . . Generally speaking the gold fever cools down in a wonderful manner after a man has been here a week or two."]

I hope soon to send for my letters, and God grant that they may bring no sad intelligence from home, for I almost dread to hear from that happy home, fearing that our neighborhood may have been the theater of cholera.

You are better acquainted with the state of things around San Francisco Bay than I am, and therefore I say nothing about them.

Give my love to Mother, if she is yet living, and say to her that I often, very often, think of her. Tell Sabrina *not* to be overanxious about me, for I shall be careful of my health, and as soon as I can get the rocks in my pocket I shall hasten home as fast as steam can carry me.

There are a great number of dealers in produce, or rather eatables here [in Sacramento City], but more dealers of monte.

Write often, for I may sometime or another get your letters.

[to be continued January 12, 1850]

[While Swain and thousands of other miners waited during January in the isolated mining camps of the Feather and Yuba rivers for the rainy season to end and the rushing waters to subside, hundreds of goldseekers chose to spend the winter in Sacramento City; others went there to buy supplies, enjoy a few days' spree or seek out their mail. One of these was Isaac Lord, who had traveled overland near and sometimes with the Rangers. From the Feather River mines he paddled a small boat down the Sacramento River and arrived at the city the afternoon of December 22. In his diary he wrote that "the first view we had of the city was where a line of ships stretches along the river for nearly a mile, then a few houses loom up mistily in the fog among the trees. . . . The ships are fast to the shore and seem to be used as storehouses. . . . We paddled our craft into a kind of pool, tied up to a tree on the bank and stepped into the street. . . . The first that strikes one's attention . . . is the want of order—the utter confusion and total disorder which prevail on every hand. . . . The streets are not graded, nor is anything done to clear them out, except cutting down some of the scattering trees which five or six months ago were the sole occupants of the ground. The whole town plot is covered with boxes and barrels, empty or filled with all kinds of goods, in passable, indifferent, or bad order, or totally ruined; and wagons, lumber, glass bottles, machinery, and plunder of all sorts, heaped and scattered and tumbled about in the most admired confusion." "The streets are half a leg deep in filth and mud, rendering getting about awful beyond description. . . . The city is one great cesspool of mud, offal, garbage, dead animals and that worst of nuisances consequent upon the entire absence of outhouses."

["The whole city is literally stuffed, crammed with eatables of every description, so exposed that almost every kind must suffer more or less damage and hundred of thousands of dollars' damage is already done. I saw at one establishment alone over 200 boxes of herrings rotting in one pile; any amount of spoiled pork, bacon, cheese, moldy and rotten; pilot bread; and most everything else. The destruction and waste of property here is almost or quite equal to that on the plains, with not half the necessity, and a thousand times the recklessness.

["There are a great number of dealers in produce or rather eatables here but more dealers of monte. The taverns have usually a large barroom in front, passing to which you will see, on one side, more display of glasses, bottles, cigars and liquors than in three or four of the largest liquor taverns in Chicago; and on the other, three or four or more tables and a man behind dealing monte, and this at all hours from breakfast to midnight."

["One of these public houses called 'The Plains' has its walls frescoed with scenes familiar to overland emigrants—Independence Rock, Devil's Gate, passes in the Rocky Mountains and in the Sierra Nevada, etc." Another "is a place made of a huge circular tent, like a small circus, and emblazoned with large letters 'City Diggins.' This during the day is almost unoccupied but at night music rings out and it is to excess crowded."

["The only object of many here appears to be to kill time and all kinds of amusements are invented to do the thing up as brilliantly as possible. For instance, the Young Men's Society Ball must have been decidedly rich. Fancy 150 hombres . . . each striving to secure one of the seventeen young ladies that were present. Tickets only $20. . . ."

["The southern part of Sacramento City, where the most of the overland emigrants locate themselves, is an interesting place for a night ramble. . . . The number of emigrants settled there for the winter amounts to two or three thousand. . . . There on fallen logs about their campfires might be seen groups that had journeyed together across the continent, recalling the hardships and perils of the travel. The men with their long beards, weather-beaten faces and ragged garments seen in the red, flickering light of the fires make wild and fantastic pictures. Sometimes four of them might be seen about a stump, intent on reviving their ancient knowledge of poker, and occasionally, a more social group filling their cups from a kettle of tea or something stronger. Their fires, however, are soon left to smolder away. The evenings are too raw and they are too weary with the day's troubles to keep long vigils. . . . The conversation is sure to wind up with a talk about home—a lamentation for its missed comforts and frequently a regret at having forsaken them. The subject is inexhaustible, and when once they commence calling up the scenes and incidents of life in the Atlantic or Mississippi world, everything else is forgotten. . . ."

[*"December 24.* Were it not that the whole country about us is under water, business here would be almost unlimited. . . . There are auction sales on the river bank at all hours of the day, where very many articles are to be obtained at greatly—relatively—reduced prices. The great drawback is the damaged condition of most of the goods. There are hundreds of men selling their 'traps' at auction and then bound for home. Some have made enough already, and others are disgusted with the country and retire, homesick. Many are going to try their luck at San Francisco. . . .

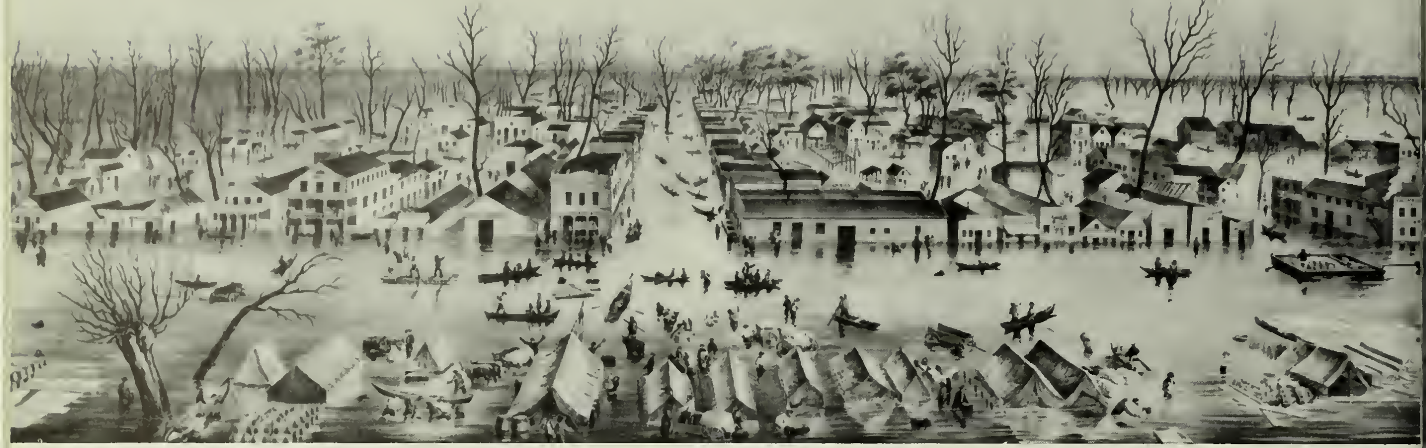
The people here refrain from—from I hardly know what, unless it is common, vulgar stealing.

[*"December 26.* The people here refrain from—from I hardly know what, unless it is common, vulgar stealing. I think there is less of what is ordinarily called stealing here than any place I was ever in; and yet there can be little difficulty in stealing to almost any extent. A vast amount of property, easily movable, is daily and nightly exposed without a watch, or even a lock.

["I was struck all aback when I saw the merchants receiving and handling gold. To examine the quality, they go through much the same maneuvers as the wheat buyers of Chicago when inspecting a sample of wheat. If the gold dust looks clean and fair, it is poured into the scales and weighted. If it looks dirty and has rock and sand in it, they take some in the palm, and stir it carelessly around with a forefinger and determine its value. Very seldom, however, except in exchanging for coin, is any deduction made. Every time it is weighed something is lost, and the business streets of Sacramento will, in a few years, be worth digging up and washing for gold. . . .

[In January, after a few days' clear weather, a storm brought a deluge of rain on the 8th, and soon muddy waters swirled through the fragile tents and ornate gambling halls. By the night of the 9th, Sacramento City was about four-fifths submerged.

[Three days later it was reported that "the water is



still rising. Tents, houses, boxes, barrels, horses, mules, and cattle are sweeping by with the swollen torrent that is now spread out in a vast sea farther than the eye can reach. There are few two-story houses, and as the water rose, which it did at the rate of six inches an hour, men were compelled to get outside. Today there is no first floor in the city uncovered, and but for the vessels in the river, now crowded with people, there is no telling what numbers might have perished." To the upper story of a hospital "men come in boats, begging to be taken in, or bring some valuables for safekeeping. . . . A lone woman, sick and destitute, is curtained off in a corner of the room. . . . A few patients are muttering in delirium. Some are dying on the floor. Others, dead, are sewed up in blankets and sunk in the water in a room on the first floor.

["All sorts of means are in use to get about—bakers' troughs, rafts and India-rubber beds. There is no sound of gongs or dinner bells in the city. The yelling for help by some men on a roof or clinging to some wreck, the howling of a dog abandoned by his master, the boisterous revelry of men in boats who find all they want to drink floating free about them, make the scene one never to be forgotten. After dark we see only one or two lights in the second city of California. . . .

["Hundreds of thousands of dollars in merchandise were wrested from the grasp of the merchants and traders of the city by the sweeping currents that ran through the streets, in some places with irresistible force." "Instead of the people wearing long faces as you would suppose, the city never was more lively. The streets were filled with boats, and everyone was for having a frolic." "Small boats brought almost any price on sale or hire. A common-sized whaleboat brought $30 per hour and sold readily for $1,000. But in an incredibly short time every particle of lumber that would answer for boat or raft-making was thus appropriated, and in a few days the people were enabled to emigrate to the adjacent hills." "Those who had boats have made nice fortunes with them by ferrying from town out to dry land, charging from $5 to $8."

[Contrary to the apparently frivolous reaction of many, the flood was in fact a major calamity—to be borne not only by the residents of Sacramento City but also by thousands of miners whose provisions would soon greatly increase in price. And the flood would leave another legacy: "What a smell! It certainly will be sickly here this summer."

[While the people of Sacramento City suffered and struggled in the aftermath of the great flood, William Swain, his friends and hundreds of other miners on the South Fork of the Feather River passed their time in their cabins when the weather was at its worst. On good days they worked on their claims to prepare for the time when the high water of the river would recede and they could at last dig for gold in the riverbed itself.

By the night of January 9, 1850, Sacramento City was about four-fifths submerged. No first floor in the city was uncovered by the deluge of water.
California Historical Society, San Francisco

[On January 12 Swain continued the letter to George that he had started on the 6th.]

January 12

We have had heavy rains and high water, but the weather has now cleared off fine, like Spring. And spring is here, for the mountain oaks are putting out their leaves and all things are assuming a green hue. We are in hopes of having dry weather soon—then, "you see!"

["Many of the miners here are moving up the river to find locations for their summer's work, and we hear of thousands at Sacramento City who are all ready to come up as soon as the rainy season is over, which will probably be in the month of February. We see by the papers that there is a tremendous number of emigrants intending to come out to California this season from the States. Thousands will be disappointed."]

It is just for me to say that if my health is good and I do not have extraordinary good luck, I may not be home till next Fall. Mr. Bailey is well and sends his love to his family. . . .

February 17, 1850
South Fork of Feather River
Twenty-five miles from Long's Bar

Dear Sabrina,

I take advantage of an opportunity to send this letter to San Francisco to send you intelligence of my good health, but not of great fortune realized. You have probably ere this received both of my letters, the first in December and the other in January directed to George, by which you are apprised of my arrival in California, my health, and prospects up to that time. . . .

We have had much rainy weather and high water which has prevented us from doing much of any mining. But for the last two weeks we have had fine, clear weather. And such weather! So clear, so warm, such transparent skies. But I confess that this country with all its attractions has little but its gold that affords me gratification. I am a stranger in a strange land, with the bonds of friendship, the endearments of the home of youth and the fond ties of kindred all exerting their influences upon me, and like the pole to the needle, they attract all my thoughts and preferences back to the land of my home and family.

["Though there is a free, openhearted way with all here, yet there is not the same feeling of interest in one another as exists in society at home. Here all know and feel that our acquaintance is of short duration, and almost all expecting some day to return to the States, do not naturally feel desirous to become an intimate with those from whom they are soon to be separated. It is something like a stagecoach or steamboat acquaintance. . . . Probably nine out of ten of the miners are calculating someday to return to the States, and their stay here will be prolonged or shortened by their success or the demands of duty and love for those left behind them. Some will stay for years, adding gold to gold, and their avaricious souls will hardly be satisfied. Some will be content with a smaller amount and will hasten home to enjoy the pleasures awaiting them in the society of those they love. Some without a care or thought, gamble and lose their gold as fast as they obtain it."]

I cannot express the disappointment I have experienced in not as yet having received any letters from either you or George. I am as well satisfied that there is at least a dozen for me at Sacramento City as I am of my existence. I have sent after them by three express carriers, and failed to get any on account of the inability of the postmaster of that place to perform the duties of the office and no provision for clerks being made by the government. The enormous wages required by persons in this country will not permit the postmaster to employ help on his own responsibility. . . .

As I left you but little money, I have felt great anxiety about affairs at home, fearing that you may not have received money sufficient to furnish the necessaries and comforts of life. Were it in my power to send you some few hundreds at this time, it would relieve my anxiety and afford me much pleasure; but the facts of my arriving here after mining had ceased, having to live at exceeding high rates, and having done but little during the wet weather have prevented me from laying up any amount. I can send money home by Adams & Co.'s Express to any city or village for ten percent, with insurance, and shall transmit you some as soon as I can.

You will of course ask: Have you done nothing yet in mining? Yes, I have done considerable. I have panned along the banks of the river with various success. My first day's work in the business was an ounce; the second was $35, and the third was $92. I picked up a lump worth $51 which cost me no more labor than stooping down to take it up. But such days' work as these are not a common thing. . . .

But the dry season and good roads are now here, and prices—these humbug prices—must cease. Already boots can be had for $16 per pair, and flour has fallen to 45 cents per pound. Although we do not live quite as high as we did, we live better at lower rates. It is also necessary to say that I have spent whole days in tramping along these rocky hills and shores and not found a shilling's worth of gold.

Our dam is finished, and the river, which is high and will probably be so for some months, is running through our race leaving its old channel bare. We have to remove some three feet of gravel and stone before we find the foundation rock where gold always lies. On account of the water which leaches from the race to the channel, we have not been able to test it but shall do it in a short time. We have found some gold, but in consequence of the thickness of the stones on the bedrock, it will not be so profitable as we expected. . . .

Mr. Bailey and Hutchinson are both well. Mr. Bailey sends his love to his family. He is certainly the best companion I have ever formed an acquaintance with. Give my love to Mother and George and kiss the girl for Father. I shall write as often as I can.

Yours as ever,
William

March 17, 1850
Sabbath Afternoon, 4 o'clock
South Fork

Dear George,

How do you do, Mr. Officer at the Bridge! [George was appointed to the local customs office.] Good luck to you and may joy surround you in your new business. By the by, I feel as though I was at home. The express man has just arrived and brought me all the letters you have written, at least a package for each month from May to October, also January containing yours and Sabrina's of that date, and yours of December, and some twelve November and December papers, for which I paid him an ounce. O!!

. . . There are many subjects mentioned in your numerous letters which I would like to answer in this but cannot for want of time, so will answer them in my next. I appreciate your advice upon the principles of conduct and shall ever endeavor to be governed by them [George had urged William to read the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of St. Matthew], for certainly this is a land of demoralization.

Last fall I was proud of the miners as a body, both for their honesty and their sobriety, but the rapidity with which they have retrograded only proves more clearly the necessity of religious restraint and the great influence of well-organized and moral society. Drinking has become very prevalent, swearing a habitual custom, and gambling has no equal in the annals of history. It has already reached as far as Feather River, and some of the boys who came across the plains in our train are in it, though they professed to be Christians when home.

["Vice seems more alluring here. It comes . . . to be a substitute for common amusement. The miner has not the society of the home circle to cheer and enliven him. He has no longer the friends, the innocent recreations to which he has been accustomed. On the Sabbath morning no church is open. . . . No mother or sister or beloved wife can cheer him." "Sabbath days here are spent by miners mostly hunting, prospecting for gold, and gambling. Very little attention is paid to morals. . . . From good authority we are told that there are several Methodist ministers at Sacramento City and San Francisco whose business is now dealing monte and playing at different games for the purpose of gain."

["Wherever rich diggings are heard of, gamblers are sure to go. They are always on the travel. They visit all the mining villages and set up their roulette and card tables and play euchre, brag, vincture (vingt-et-un) and monte, and in fact all kinds of games to suit their dupes."

["Their diggings are in the pockets of the miners and not in the pockets of the (river) bars. . . . They offer the simple and the foolish as good a chance to lose the results of months of labor and privation in an hour as is done in the more showy and magnificent hells in the city. . . . Generally a few days spent in one place is sufficient to drain the font of the gambling miner's stream, and when all have 'come down with the dust' who will pay tribute to folly, the gambler rolls up his blanket, shoulders his pile, and climbs to another bar."]

. . . On the subject of religion, I have not paid the attention to it that I determined when leaving the States, but I have preserved my Bible and have read it often. ["There seems to be little disposition to maintain religious worship here. The thoughts of the people are entirely preoccupied with drinking, gambling, or getting gold out of the earth." "Religion and religious services, like everything else in California, is singular and unnatural. There is preaching occasionally by some Doctor of Divinity or gold-hunting minister; but all denominational cast or character is kept carefully out of view—in short, it is a kind of mongrel preaching, a little of everything and not much of anything. . . ."]

Four weeks ago we thought the rain over, but March has been the worst month of the season. The waters are up, and our prospects for mining soon are dark, at least for two months to come. ["Very few on this river will be ready in that time, though some think that a week is sufficient to finish their work. On most of the claims the projected operations are entirely insufficient to drain the river. . . . Some, who will fail, are making extensive preparations—in talk—and really doing but very little. . . . The wildest schemes of human fancy are here mere common, everyday, matter-of-course speculations."]

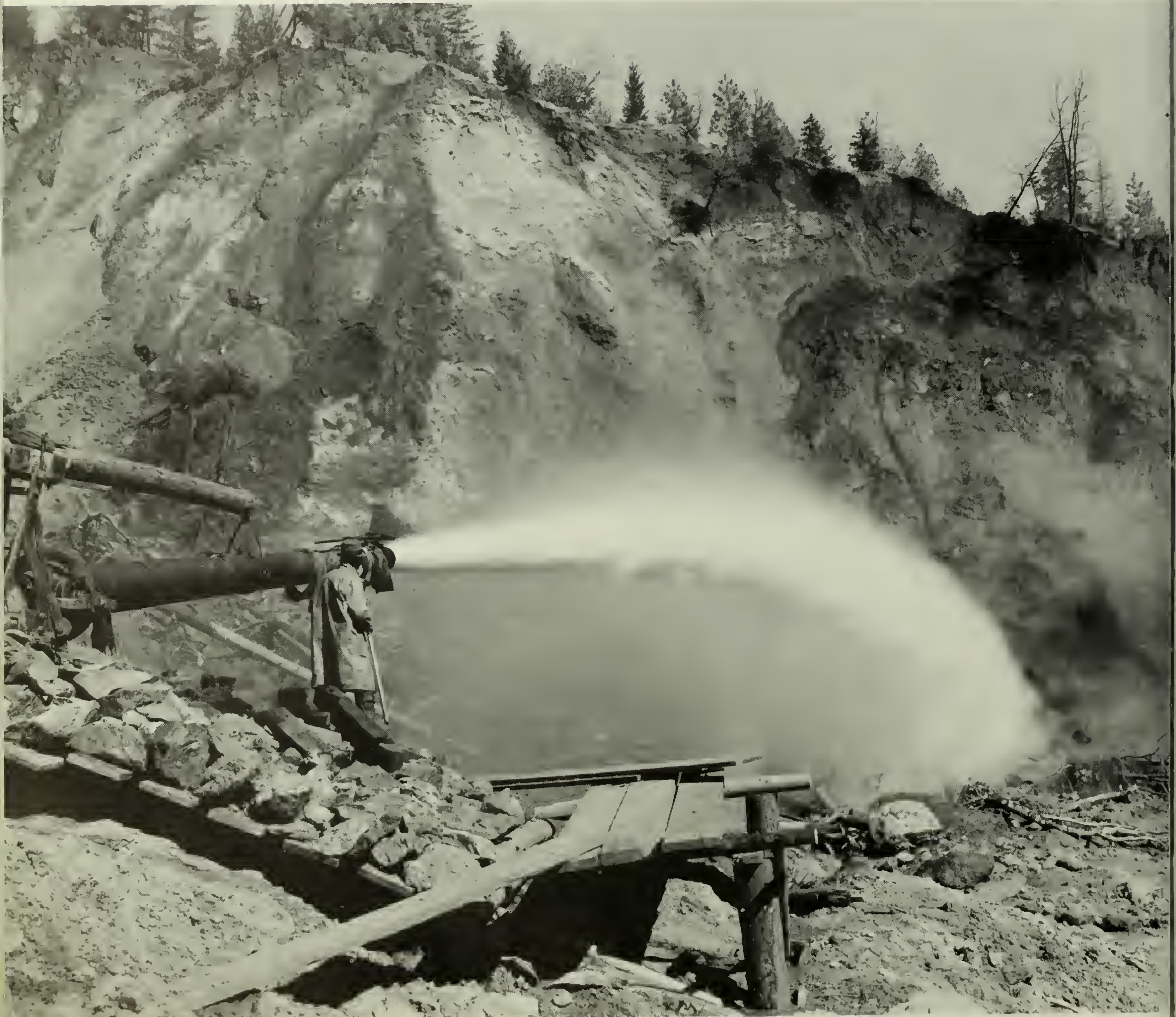
I am very sorry to hear that little Sister was sick, and also that it was necessary that calomel should be given. I dread that medicine and hope you will not have to give her any more.

But I can write no longer if I send this by this mail, so farewell at present.

Your brother,
William

P.S. Mr. H. and B. are well and send their respects to their friends. I have not heard a word from John since last Fall. If you know where he is, send word. S. Eaton is at Bidwell's.

The Giants &



A slickered "piper" watches a giant, or monitor, anchored by boulders, blast up to two tons of water per second under high pressure at a yielding mountainside.
Caltrans, Sacramento

Dewey & Nola Mosier

the Mountain Mining Machines Make a Highway

Highway 299 traverses California's northern mountain wilderness from the seacoast at Arcata east to Redding at the northern end of the Central Valley. Passing through the rugged canyon of the Trinity River, the highway leaves the river gorge about a hundred miles inland at Junction City and begins a long ascent toward the transverse ridge of Oregon Mountain five miles distant. Three miles beyond the ridge lies Weaverville, historic gold town and Trinity County seat.

A few hundred yards west of the ridge, the road widens for a vista point marked by a familiar brass-plaqued, native stone monument and a rusted iron relic. The plaque informs readers that this is the site of the historic La Grange Mine, one of the largest in the world;[1] it says nothing about the strange relic.

Surrounding the vista point is a vast area of bare bedrock. Trees are sparse, and a deep chasm falls away from the highway. The view west down the chasm to Junction City is dominated by a gray-white river of dry and sunbleached rock. Uphill to the east is a visible notch in the barricade-like ridge. Although it looks small in comparison to the mountains, chasm, and rock river below, the gap is 2,000 feet wide at its top, more than 200 feet deep, and a half-mile long. A mere forty years ago, there was neither a notch nor a highway passing through it.

Recognizing that roads are fundamental to the administration of government as well as other civil necessities, in 1909 the California Legislature defined the state's north-south routes as "trunks" and the east-west branches as "laterals" or "County Seat Laterals." In 1915 the legislature authorized construction of the lateral between the coast trunk (Highway 101) and the valley trunk (old Highway 99, now Interstate 5 or I-5) connecting the county seats of Humboldt, Trinity, and Shasta counties. By 1930 the "Trinity Lateral" had been extended east from Eureka to Junction City and west from Redding to Weaverville.

Closing the gap in the state highway from Junction City to Weaverville, which was being filled only by a rough country road dating from the gold rush era, required a decision by the California Highway Commission about the best route. The highway commission had three apparent choices: to improve the old county road, to go southeast up the Trinity River to Douglas City, or to go east over the ridge of Oregon Mountain to Weaverville.

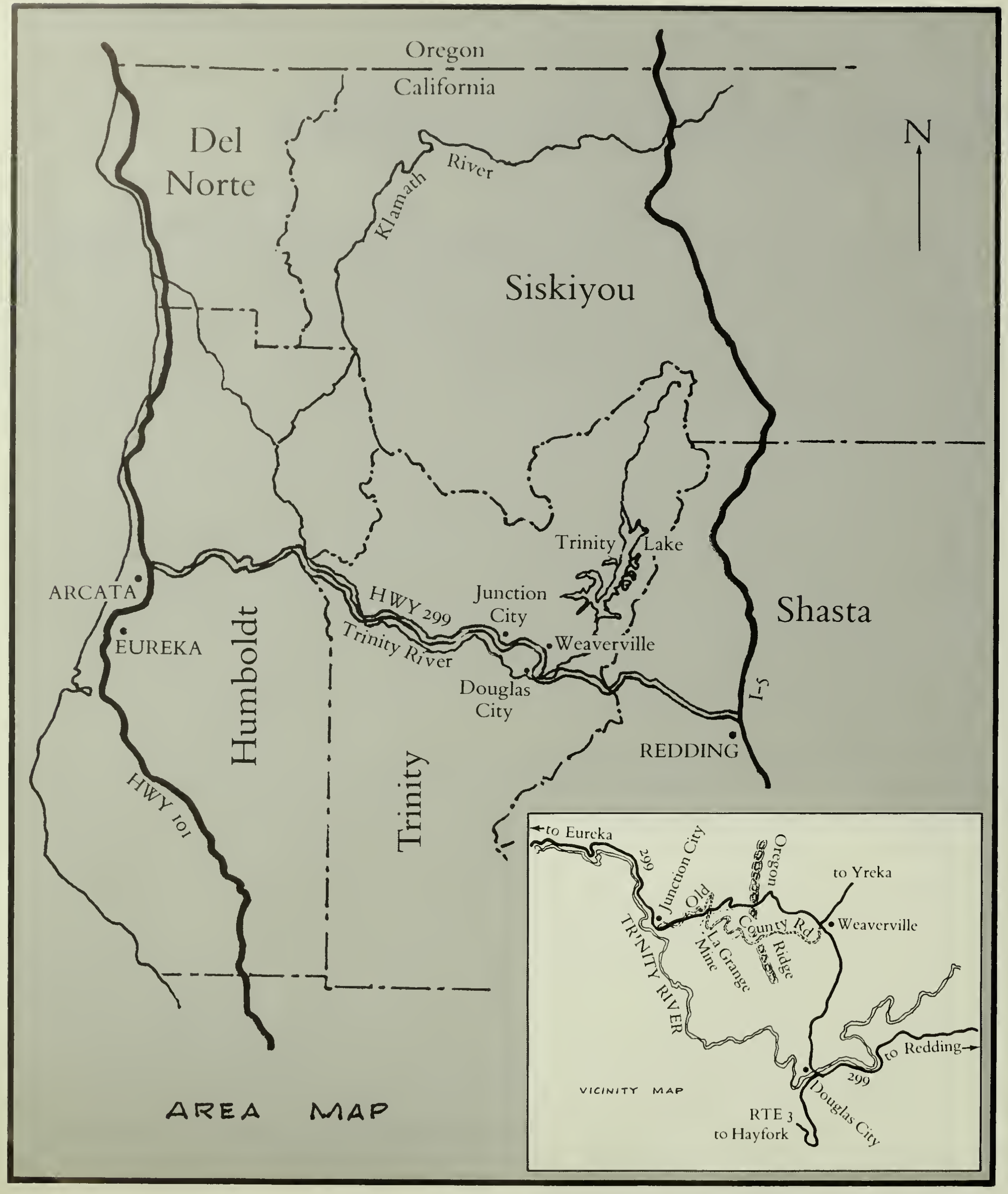
The first alternative was readily eliminated. In the laconic language of the highway engineers, this route

> offered many severe handicaps to construction, to maintenance . . . among which were . . . excessive distance, tortuous alignment on long sustained grades with no prospect of future improvement, deep cuts in unstable formations, and a road on shady north slopes through a heavy snow area.[2]

The second choice along the Trinity River gorge would bypass the Trinity County seat of Weaverville, thus being inconsistent with the legislature's intent. Therefore, on April 29, 1932, the highway commission decided on the third alternative over Oregon Mountain.

In making this choice, the commission was well

The authors are life-long Californians who were employed by the California Division of Highways, now Caltrans. Mr. Mosier lived in Weaverville during the Oregon Mountain road-building operation.


Oregon
California
N
Del Norte
Klamath River
Siskiyou
Trinity Lake
Shasta
ARCATA
EUREKA
Humboldt
HWY 299
Trinity River
Junction City
Weaverville
Douglas City
I-5
REDDING
Trinity
HWY 101
AREA MAP
to Eureka
299
Junction City
Old
Oregon
to Yreka
County Rd
Weaverville
La Grange Mine
Ridge
TRINITY RIVER
to Redding
299
VICINITY MAP
RTE 3
to Hayfork
Douglas City

The Junction City-to-Weaverville gap in Highway 299 running east from Eureka to Redding was closed by crossing La Grange mining property and rugged Oregon Ridge.
Caltrans, Sacramento

aware that the ridge was too high for a road to climb and much too big to move with the steamshovels and graders then available. It also knew that tunneling through the ridge would be extremely costly. But the commission was also aware that a unique set of circumstances existed which, if brought together, could solve an otherwise impossible problem.

The Highway 299 construction project was planned and accomplished by the California Division of Highways under the direction of F.W. Hazelwood, the District 2 engineer at Redding. His brainchild, which became known as the "Hazelwood Cut," gained world-wide recognition in engineering circles. While official publications and trade reports documented the fascinating facts, the complete record of the feat exists only in assorted engineering reports, in issues of *California Highways and Public Works Magazine*, and in the brittle, yellowing pages of the *Weekly Trinity Journal*. The enormous highway construction project described therein utilized a construction method absolutely unique in the annals of road building.[3]

Any of the three possible routes for Highway 299 had to cross La Grange mining property. The La Grange Mine, a consolidation of many mines dating from the 1850s, comprised several thousand acres including almost all of Oregon Mountain, Oregon Ridge, and Oregon Gulch. Previous hydraulic gold mining operations between 1862 and 1918 by the La Grange Mine and its predecessors had already removed half of the 200 million cubic yards of gold-bearing gravels below the ridge, but the saddle through which the highway would pass was still intact.

Years of mining this enormous amount of gravel had removed the support of overburden higher on the mountain, and a massive landslide of millions of cubic yards of non-gold bearing earth had covered the mine. The costs of removing the slide to continue mining were prohibitive; consequently, in 1918, operations at the La Grange were suspended indefinitely. The world had been at war, and money and materials were scarce. The mine, its ditches, flumes, and equipment became idle and then fell into disrepair.

In 1933, surveys, test borings, and geological studies made at the site indicated to state highway engineers that the slide could be economically removed and a deep cut made through the ridge to provide a satisfactory foundation and grade for a highway. They also determined that "the La Grange Placer Mines Ltd., owners of all of Oregon Hill [Mountain] and Gulch area and the water system and mining equipment, were willing to lease at a nominal rental and to grant rights for spoil on either side of Oregon Hill."[4] Furthermore, the engineers enthusiastically urged that "all that was necessary was to repair [the facilities] . . . install pipelines and *giants* . . . and start digging."[5]

While the eagerness of the engineers to start digging is apparent, their reference to "giants" is obscure today. The strange relic at the Oregon Mountain vista point is, in fact, a "monitor," which resembles nothing quite so much as a primitive cannon. Built by the Joshua Hendy Company of San Francisco during the last half of the nineteenth century, this water cannon and others like it were used in hydraulic mining for gold. Miners have always called the monitors "giants."

About fifteen feet long and weighing more than a ton, the monitor swiveled on a hollow steel ball joint, or gooseneck. It was connected to a 15 or 18-inch steel pipe leading to a water reservoir located hundreds of feet higher than the monitor. Under very great pressure, the water passed through the gooseneck and down the spout or barrel of the monitor into a replaceable nozzle from 6 to 9 inches in diameter, depending upon the amount of water available and the effect desired. The moveable nozzle was equipped with a control handle. Turning the nozzle caused the monitor to move in the opposite direction from the force of the discharged water. At two tons per second, the weight and inertia of the moving water were so great that without the moveable nozzle an operator could not have directed the stream of flowing water.

In the hands of skilled operators, known as "pipers", the monitor could be precisely aimed in almost all directions. When the reservoir was fully opened, a monitor could shoot a continuous projectile of water 500 feet at speeds from 80 to 100 miles an hour. The incredible force of the water could batter apart a mountain, turn it to mud, and sluice it away. Pipers used the giants like lasers, carving the earth apart with hard to believe effectiveness.

These awesome machines had first gone to work on Oregon Mountain in 1862. In the quest for gold, they persisted effectively for the next fifty-six years until the massive land slide covered the rich gravels of the mine. Then, on February 22, 1934, after nearly two decades of idleness, the same giants returned to work on the mountain, this time not to find gold but to wash away a path for Highway 299.

Water was still the ammunition for the giants, and they used millions and millions of gallons of it. Rain and snow supplied the water, so winter and spring were the only times when the giants were able to work.[6]

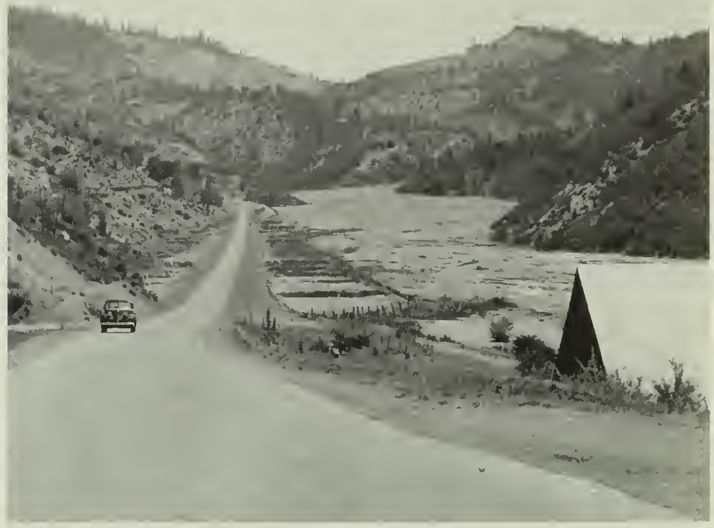
In the course of its mining operations, the old La Grange had constructed forty-one miles of aqueducts to bring water to the mine. One of these water systems came twenty-nine miles from the headwaters of Stuarts Fork, a tributary of the Trinity River. The water flowed by gravity around the slopes of canyons and ravines, crossed them on flumes, or plunged into and shot out of them in inverted siphon pipelines. It took nine hours for water to reach the equalizing storage reservoir at the mine.[7]

Called "The Sweepstakes," a second smaller system carried water for twelve miles from sources on East and West Weaver creeks. While its capacity was less than the Stuarts Fork system, the system would carry enough water, engineers predicted, for the highway project. Accordingly, they rehabilitated The Sweepstakes, constructed a new reservoir with nearly 500 million gallons capacity, laid pipelines to the giants, and readied the system for "hydraulicking."

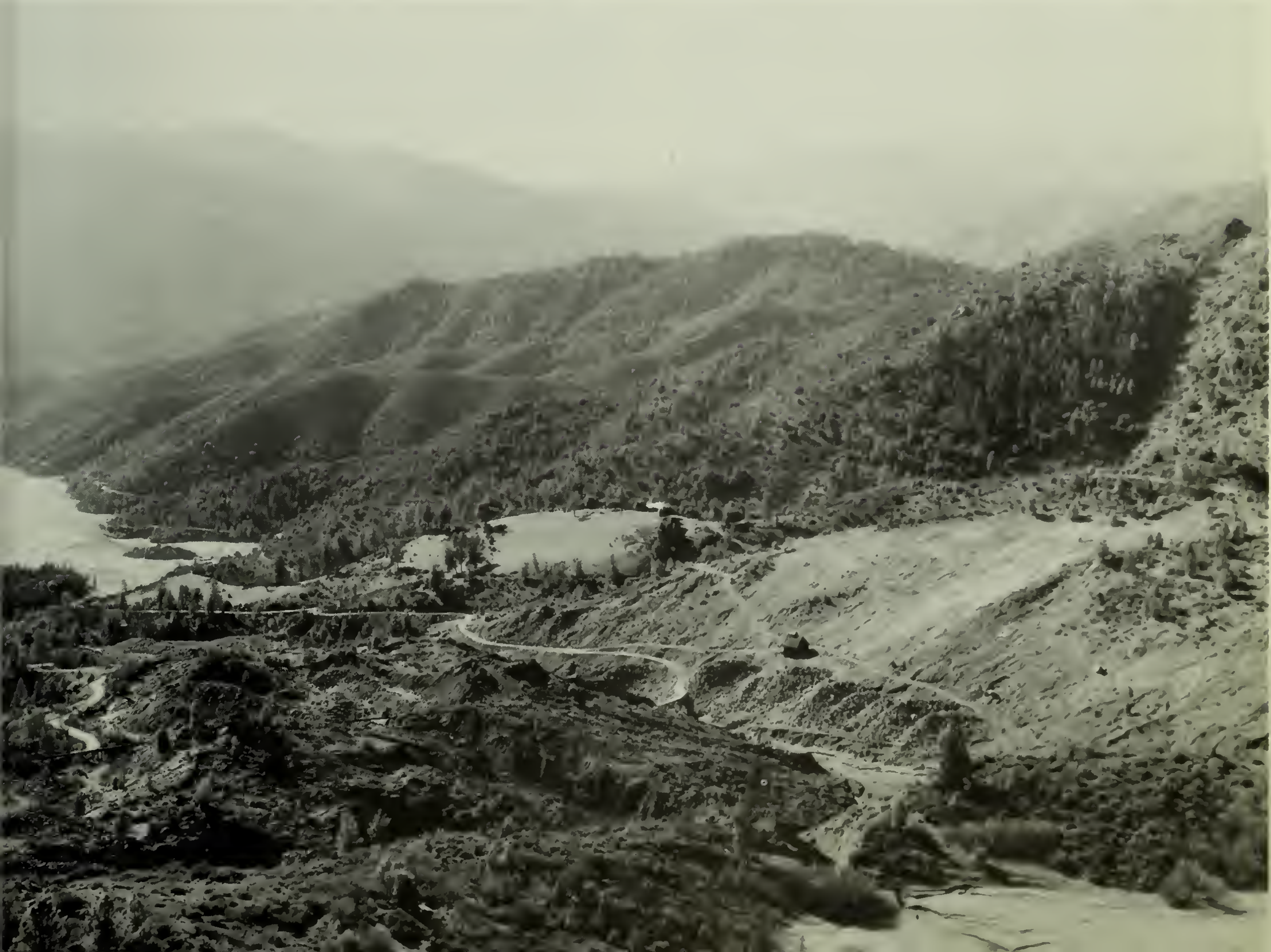
When assembled, the operating system consisted of a gravity-flow water supply to a reservoir located several hundred feet above the working level of the giants. (The vertical distance, or "head", between the pipeline inlet and the giants averaged about 500 feet for the highway project). Stored water was metered into steel pipes tapering from 30 inches to 26 inches and finally to 18 or 15 inches at the giants. To withstand the tremendous water pressures created, all turns or angles in the pipelines and giants were weighted down with many tons of boulders. Without this anchoring, even the steel pipes and the one-ton giants would whip about like unmanned firehoses.

Operating a giant required three men: one at the reservoir controlling the water supply, the piper at the giant directing its stream, and a watchman communicating between the other two. On the average, twenty-one men were employed on the Oregon Mountain hydraulic project. Since the project was conceived during the Great Depression when unemployment was high, each man was permitted to work only thirty hours per week so that as many people as possible could have jobs . To maximize the use of

The long grade of Highway 299 follows the rock river and climbs to the newly deforested and clearly notched Oregon Ridge. The gap is 2,000 feet wide at its top, more than 200 feet deep, and a half-mile long. Caltrans, Sacramento



Down from the bedrock of Oregon Ridge is the dry and sun-bleached "rock river" of boulders (at left) created by the giants' relentless blasting. The thin ribbon of Highway 299 follows the river. Caltrans, Sacramento



available water, work continued through the winter night under floodlights.

Hydraulic excavation, whether used in mining or road building, is far from haphazard. It is carefully planned and deliberately executed. To be wholly effective, hydraulicking required very high banks of earth and a large, steep discharge channel through which the debris and tailings could be washed away. The giants had to be placed so that their force could undercut the banks. Then, when the banks lost their support, they collapsed. The impact of their fall caused them to shatter and crumble, mix with water, and flow away in the tailing race. When house-sized boulders occasionally blocked the tailrace, they could be blasted apart, and the giants, often working in teams, would then wash the remains downstream.

Under the relentless pressure of the giants, which began in early 1934, Oregon Mountain's high banks receded. The giants were then moved forward, and the attack began again. During more than five years' work on the Hazelwood Cut, three main giants were moved a total of ninety-four times, and two secondary giants were moved twice.

Toward the end of the project, the mountain suddenly resisted the advance of the giants at an impenetrable formation which even the giants could not cut through. From previous test borings, the engineers knew that bedrock would block the path of the highway here. So prepared, they bored a 600-foot powder tunnel along the route of the highway centerline, loaded the hole with blasting powder, backfilled the tunnel, and exploded the charge. On December 2, 1937, the *Weekly Trinity Journal* headlined the event, "43-ton Blast of Dynamite!" Townspeople in Weaverville and Junction City had been forewarned, and no damage was reported.

On the mountain, however, the story was different. When the dust cleared away and the echo of the blast had died, the bedrock obstruction looked to be intact, but its solidity had been broken.

The giants went back to work. For five years, four months, and eight days, they had carved relentlessly. They stripped the mountain of almost 11 million cubic yards of surface armor, then broke its back. On June 30, 1939, the notch through which the highway would pass was completed. The work of the giants was done.

A comparison of the relative costs of excavation by hydraulic operations and the existing mechanical methods of the day suggests some surprising conclusions. A steam shovel, with its attendant laborers and dump trucks, had the maximum capacity of moving 125 cubic yards each working day. The giants collectively could move as much as 3,000 cubic yards per day and averaged 1,300 cubic yards per day. In 1935 it cost about 60 cents to move a cubic yard with a steam shovel; the giants on Oregon Mountain did it for 2.47 cents, less than five percent of conventional costs.[8]

Of course, the giants did not work alone. There were men—hydraulic excavation superintendents, hydraulic monitor men (pipers), skilled fusion welders, highway equipment operators, and laborers. The first two state personnel classifications were created especially for this project. Once the positions were established, they were readily filled by local men. In the heart of gold mining country, experienced, willing men, many of whom had learned their skills at the La Grange Mine, were eager to resume their trade. The high regard in which they were held by the project engineers is suggested in the project's final report:

> Weather conditions were at times very bad for outside work, but this project was all the more active when such conditions prevailed as snow, rain and wind, with the cold

> that goes along with it. . . . Throughout the project there was little complaint from the employees about weather. They were mostly a husky, independent group of men who could be relied on to do their work without supervision.[9]

In addition to area residents, the convicts of Valdor, Camp 25 of the state prison labor system, made significant contributions to the hydraulic excavation project. For the last three years of work, the prisoners performed the heavy labor of moving the giants and the pipelines. They lifted, carried, and set the boulders to anchor the giants in place, and in addition built the approach roads to the Hazelwood Cut from Junction City and from Weaverville. The engineers reported that the men "learned very fast the most efficient way to fill their duties."[10]

It is now almost 120 years since the first gold-seeking giant began its advance on Oregon Mountain. It is also 40 years since the last road-building giant broke the mountain's back. Today's visible bare bedrock was once covered with eleven million cubic yards of earth—almost enough to have built the Oroville Dam. The chasm visible from the vista point is the void left after 100 million yards of dirt were excavated for gold by the La Grange Mine—enough to have built all of the state's earthfill dams. The rock river below is made of the mining tailings. It is four miles long, a half mile at its widest point, and of undetermined depth. Somewhere, perhaps 400 feet beneath its silent surface, are the remnants of the gold rush town of Oregon City.

The result of all the effort is the modern highway with its long tangents, sweeping curves, moderate grades, and wide pavements. Californians can take its excellence for granted, but unless they stop at the vista point and learn the story, it would be hardly believable that the strange rusted relic sitting nearby and its mates were responsible for all of this.

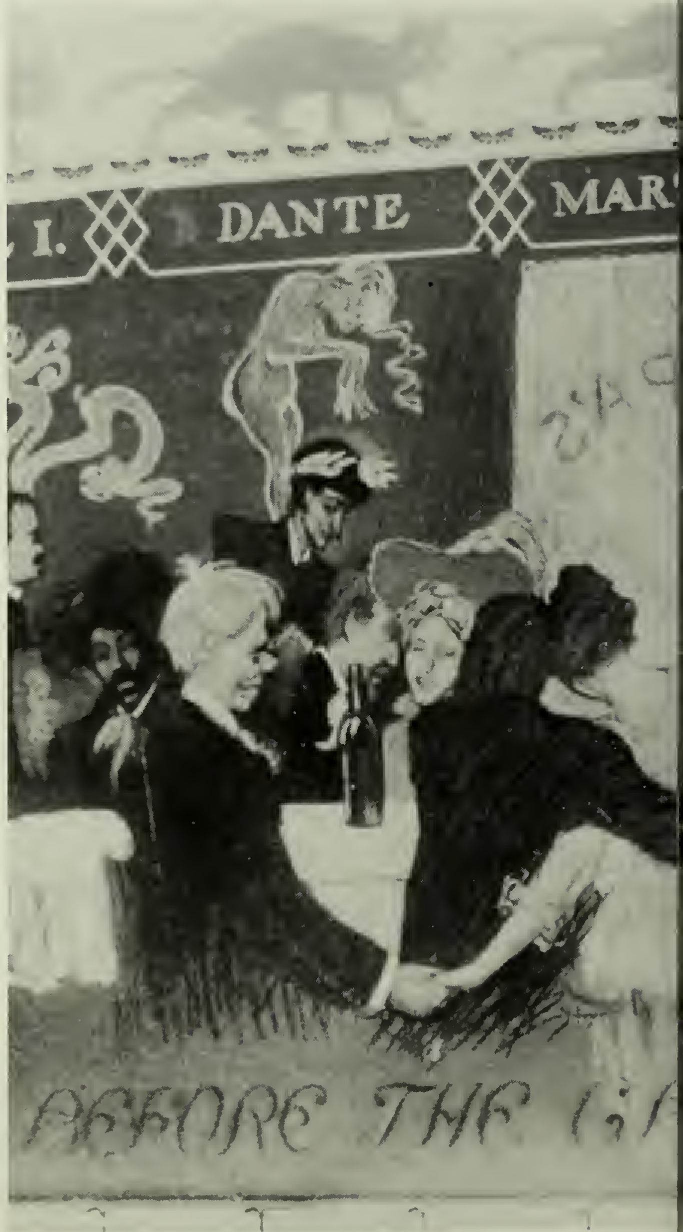
In the 1930s, no public hearings, no environmental studies, no objections, no endorsements were needed for a highway project. The giants were simply powerful allies to man's objectives, and they did their work mightily. Embarking on the project in 1934, district engineer F.W. Hazelwood reflected, "Some of the work of the Cretaceous age is about to be undone in the twinkling of an eye, as geologists reckon time, and traffic will flow through Oregon Hill on or near the bed made by a stream millions of years ago."[11] He might have added, "But it will take the help of giants."

Notes

1. California claims the world's two largest hydraulic gold mines, the La Grange in Trinity County and the Malakoff Diggins in Nevada County. While the La Grange was the largest in land area, time worked, and yardage removed, both mines apparently produced the same amount of gold.
2. *California Highways and Public Works Magazine*, August 1939, p. 2.
3. "Some minor hydraulic work has been done on highways in Washington and Florida, and to a limited extent in removing slides and sand cuts in California. Water for all these operations was pumped, and the discharge nozzle was not over 4 inches." *California Highways and Public Works Magazine*, May 1934, p. 29.
4. "Final Report for the Hydraulic Excavation of Secondary State Highway Between Junction City and Weaverville for 1.8 miles over Oregon Mountain Ridge in Trinity County," January 6, 1941, CHP 4.
5. *California Highways and Public Works Magazine*, May 1935, p. 8.
6. State law in 1933 permitted hydraulic mining in Trinity County between October 15 and July 15 to avoid contaminating rivers during spawning runs. This season was later reduced to December 1 to July 1.
7. *Tales from the Mountaineer* (Rotary Club of Weaverville, 1964), p. 61.
8. The massive slide was not auriferous, so no attempt was made to recover gold.
9. "Final Report," January 6, 1941, CHP/18.
10. "Final Report," January 6, 1941, CHP/19. Lasting almost 60 years from 1915 to 1974, the prison labor system achieved the construction of many of the state's "showcase" routes including the Merced River Route, gateway to Yosemite.
11. *California Highways and Public Works Magazine*, May 1934, p. 29.

Marvin R. Nathan

San Francisco's *Fin de Siècle*



On a windswept, rainy San Francisco evening in early January 1894, four young men stood in the darkness of lower Market Street before a cast-iron statue of one Dr. Henry D. Cogswell, San Francisco dentist and temperance zealot. The good doctor himself had donated his likeness to the city and, in keeping with his teetotaling philosophy, had equipped it with a fresh water fountain so that passersby might slake their thirst on nature's pure fluid, rather than what innumerable saloons all over town were offering in its place.

To many people in San Francisco, and especially to several of the city's young artists, the statue was an embarrassment. Not only was it molded according to the most cliched Victorian artistic canons of pompous and overstated public dignity, but it also represented a most self-satisfied and obtrusive sort of late nineteenth century moralism. It clearly attempted to impose a narrow view of virtue upon the citizens of so cosmopolitan a city as San Francisco by foisting temperance-laced water on them (the drinking cup was strategically placed in Cogswell's outstretched hand). This indeed was a smug, clumsy monument to Philistinism! What made matters worse was that at its prominent location on Lower Market, the statue was viewed daily by thousands of commuters walking and riding between the old Ferry Building and the city's business district.

With such considerations in mind, the four young men had procured a long length of clothesline which they proceeded to secure around the cast-iron Cogswell's neck. With one mighty heave they felled the likeness of the virtuous dentist and, since no one ever

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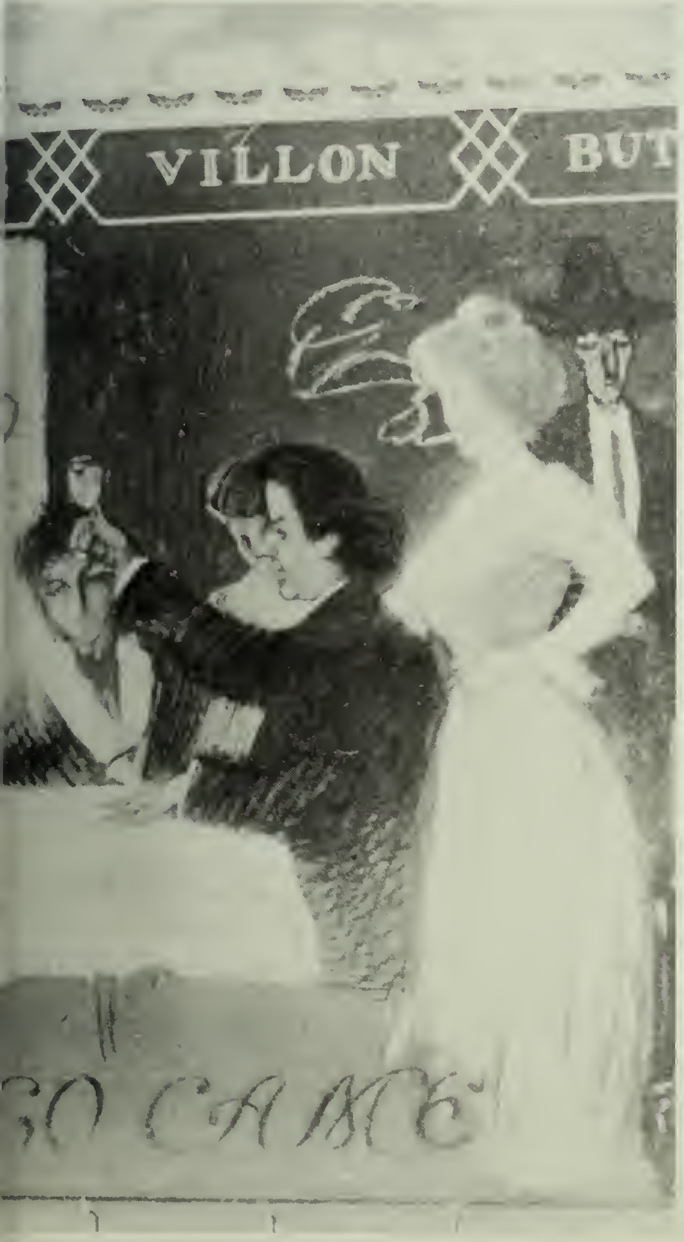
Bohemian Renaissance



bothered to re-erect the statue, put an end to Dr. Cogswell's Market Street temperance campaign in perpetuity.[1] This late night act marked the symbolic beginning of a San Francisco renaissance in art and literature which lasted for a decade.

The two ringleaders of the young wrecking crew were Frank Gelett Burgess and Bruce Porter. Burgess, twenty-seven years old in 1894, was a Bostonian who traced his lineage back to the Mayflower. Raised by puritanical Unitarian parents, he spent his youth dodging his mother's moral indictments, roaming Boston back streets, sketching, listening to Gilbert and Sullivan, and reading everything that he could get his hands on—Dickens, Scott, and Lewis Carroll, among others. "When I was four years old," he later recalled, "I was passionately fond of reading."[2]

Burgess entered the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he majored in civil engineering for a peculiarly romantic reason: "I saw those pictures of men triangulating across streams and started to dream about tunneling through the Andes."[3] After graduating, he was offered a job in California as a draftsman for the Southern Pacific Railroad, a job which brought him to San Francisco in 1888. Burgess could only tolerate the boredom of railroad mapping for three years, and in 1891, he obtained a job as an

Xavier Martinez's murals at the popular artists' restaurant Coppa's show a fusion of Les Jeunes *and the Bohemians who followed soon after. From left behind table, Burgess is carrying one of his Goop children's books; painter Martinez is seated; poet George Sterling stands with laurel wreath on his head; Porter Garnett, in profile, talks to journalist "Maisie" Griswold; writer Henry Lafler sits at head of table; and painter Maynard Dixon stands with cowboy hat in rear. In foreground is Perry Newberry, founder and future mayor of Carmel-by-the-Sea. The Coppa Murals* by Warren Unna (Book Club of California 1952)

The Lark *staff in 1896 included (from left) illustrator and author Ernest Peixotto, Gelett Burgess, Bruce Porter, Florence Lundborg, and Porter Garnett. The Wave,* April 10, 1897, in Gelett Burgess Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

instructor of topographical and freehand drawing at the University of California in Berkeley. During his three years of teaching, he developed his own artistic abilities and, through extensive reading, became an expert in French and Italian verse forms of the Renaissance, old French, eighteenth-century English usage, and American slang idioms. At the same time, Burgess was also forming valuable friendships with other young writers and artists in the Bay Area whom he had met at the University or through the Unitarian Church in San Francisco. In Berkeley he befriended aspiring novelist Frank Norris and artist Ernest Peixotto. Through Unitarian cultural groups, he became acquainted with artists Bruce Porter and Florence Lundborg, architect Willis Polk, as well as esthete, historian, and man-about-town Porter Garnett.[4]

With surprising swiftness Burgess shed his New England reserve, finding his life in California increasingly intoxicating. "It was not till I left Boston and went to California that I cast aside forever [my mother's] intelligently modified sabbatarianism, chastity, temperance, rigid truthfulness and habit of churchgoing." What he had discovered instead was a glorious city which

> has become a fetish, a cult. Under its blue skies and driving fogs is bred the most ardent loyalty in these United States. San Francisco is most magnificently herself of any American city, and San Franciscans, in consequence, are themselves with an abounding perfervid sincerity. Faults they have, lurid, pungent, staccato, but hypocrisy is not one of them. The vice is never necessary.

The energy and freedom of life Burgess found in his new city created an environment "of surprises, magic and madness and rank enthusiasms" in part, he believed, because of its vibrant gold rush past and in part because of its isolation from the rest of the world.[5]

Once the names of the Cogswell statue culprits had been made public, the president of the University of California let it be known that he would welcome the resignation of drawing instructor Burgess. Accordingly, in June of 1894, the young Bostonian took a job as a furniture designer in San Francisco where, for the first time, he was free to explore the fecund possibilities of a life lived for art in a city of prodigious energies and great tolerance. The Bohemianism of Henri Murget and Charles Baudelaire in Paris and the Estheticism of Oscar Wilde and Aubrey Beardsley in London loomed large in his mind.

Burgess' close friend and fellow Cogswell conspirator, Bruce Porter, was a San Francisco native one year older in age. Unlike his compatriot, Porter had left school at fourteen and was self-educated in art and literature. In the late 1880s, his youthful wanderings of self-discovery had brought him to England where he visited the studio of painter and stained glass designer Edward Burne-Jones. Burne-Jones had already distinguished himself as chief designer

Guarding lower Market Street was the infamous Cogswell statue urging San Franciscans to temperance. Its demise inadvertently freed Gelett Burgess to seek Bohemia in San Francisco. Bancroft Library, University of California

for the furniture firm of William Morris, Pre-Raphaelite writer and father of the Arts and Crafts Movement which was dedicated to opposing industrialized blandness in everyday design by means of the lavish use of Medieval decorative patterns. His work led Burne-Jones into new esthetic grounds, and when Porter visited him, the artist was already regarded as the leading English practitioner of "The New Art," or *Art Nouveau*. The young San Franciscan was deeply impressed, and when he returned to California, his head was brimming with new ideas derived from his contact with Arts and Crafts and *Art Nouveau* styles.

Porter, who in later years established himself as the Bay Area's leading landscape designer, stained glass maker, and muralist, settled in at a San Francisco apartment on Jackson Street which he turned into an artist's garret on the European model. In manner, dress, and even in long, drooping mustache, he emulated his artistic hero, Robert Louis Stevenson, who in his brief visit to the city in 1879 and 1880 had established himself as the quintessential Bohemian for many young San Francisco writers and artists. After all, what could be more Bohemian than the heroism of a life filled with poverty, ill-health, and social alienation, but made vibrant by artistic creativity and deep sensibility? What an unusual sight the Burgess-Porter duo must have made about town in the mid-1890s, Burgess five-feet-four-inches tall and clad in knee-length cape bedecked with an eighteen inch lapel carnation *à la* the redoubtable London Decadent Oscar Wilde, in tandem with the tall, lanky Porter attired in properly sullen Bohemian artist's garb, shoulders and mustache adroop. What a striking image of cultural eclecticism in *fin de siècle* San Francisco![6]

Burgess and Porter had met through mutual acquaintances in the local Unitarian church. They became fast friends, spending hours talking about art and life (quite probably in that order) in Porter's apartment at 606 Jackson Street. To Burgess, Porter was "the Burne-Jones of the Pacific Coast—a sort of cross between Poe and Stevenson."[7] Porter was "[my] intellectual mentor, the primary inspiration of whatever I have done, or shall do in Literature, the most picturesque, romantic, stimulating figure in the new California."[8] The admiration was mutual, and for Porter, Burgess was all energy, curiosity, and wit, a man whose mind abounded with ideas about and knowledge of Medieval and Renaissance verse, eighteenth-century English literary journals, Romantic and Victorian novels, and the myriad new artistic and literary movements appearing with exciting rapidity in the late nineteenth century.

Porter, the quiet, reflective, visually imaginative artist and craftsman, and Burgess, the quick-witted, sharp-tongued *savant* who was more comfortable

Calling themselves "Les Jeunes" *("the young ones"), they identified their own youth with the youth and vitality of San Francisco and with a fresh, unjaded approach to the fine arts and literature.*

with literature than being a teacher of drawing, became the center of a new artistic and literary set in San Francisco. After Burgess was dismissed from his employment at the university, he was free to sow his enthusiasms among young writers and artists in the city. His efforts and, to a lesser degree, those of Porter, gave identity and focus to a new cultural scene in San Francisco. In 1894 and 1895, he and Porter gathered about them a group of a dozen or so youthful writers and painters, and this coterie became the beginning of a Bohemian movement whose followers would dominate California and western art and literature for the next decade.

The new cultural set catalyzed by Burgess and Porter self-consciously pursued the new and exulted in its own youthfulness (most of them were in their twenties). Calling themselves "*Les Jeunes*" ("the young ones"), they identified their own youth with the youth and vitality of San Francisco and with a fresh, unjaded approach to the fine arts and literature. While none of their number, aside from Burgess, became major figures in American culture, they encouraged and were models for the even more youthful new members of the city's cultural scene who, in some cases, eventually achieved national and even international stature. Although *Les Jeunes* gravitated together for only a brief two-year period and then, like random atoms, flew apart to Paris, London, and New York, they gave San Francisco a cultural identity that was of great significance to those who came on their heels, novelists like Frank Norris and Jack London (both good friends of Burgess and other *Jeunes*), poets like George Sterling and Edwin Markham, and artists like Maynard Dixon and Xavier Martinez.[9]

"It was a charming, brief period," recalled Bruce Porter,

> filled with enthusiasm and a quite fresh perception of the city and its romantic beauty and the beauties of California. The social life had again gained something of the old orderliness and serenity, only now its activities in art were preeminently in the hands of youth. Writers, painters, sculptors, architects, and musicians communicated their enthusiasms one to another, in a communion closer and more stimulating than has ever happened locally before or since.[10]

While Porter may well have been indulging in a bit of romanticizing, there is no doubt that San Francisco's cultural life by 1895 had reawakened and was bursting with new vitality, new projects, and the desire to be abreast of the latest European trends and movements.

The resurrection of local literary and artistic culture sparked by *Les Jeunes* had been a long time in coming. From the days of the gold rush, the city had been home to several talented journalists and writers, including humorist George Derby and John Rollin Ridge, the Cherokee biographer of Joaquin Murietta. But most of San Francisco's literature was produced by people who wrote only as a sideline to other occupations. Of the small number of painters in the city's early history, only the Nahl brothers, Charles and Arthur, exhibited particular merit.

San Francisco's cultural life changed radically for the better in the 1860s. In this decade a new group of impressive young writers and painters emerged who first and foremost considered themselves artists and took their primary task to be creative expression. At the center of San Francisco's first genuine literary "set" was the recently arrived Los Angeles poet, Ina Coolbrith, and at various times it included fiction writers Bret Harte, Mark Twain, and Ambrose Bierce, poets Charles Warren Stoddard and "Joaquin" Miller, along with New York Bohemian immigrants like journalist Charles Webb and actress Adah Isaacs Menken.

San Francisco's poetry of this period was heavily colored with Byronian Romanticism, while the most effective prose appeared in sketches and short stories about the heroism, humor, and sentimentality of pioneer California life. The western frontier experience as well as California's majestic natural beauty could have been major themes, but, for the most part, the writers did neither justice. Instead, the work they produced in the '60s ranged from bland to sentimental, relying for emotional, experiential, and literary effects more on Lord Byron, Dickens, James Fenimore Cooper, and crude miners' humor than on fresh, genuine perceptions of the uniqueness of the new West. That California writers failed to produce literature of the quality being generated in the East during the same era is not surprising, however, since the western writers had a cultural heritage of only two decades, not the two centuries of evolution in social and literary conventions available to a Melville or a Hawthorne.

In the same decade of the '60s, three major painters emerged, Albert Bierstadt, Thomas Hill, and William Keith. While their work is impressive in certain respects, it is also heavily dependent on eastern and mid-nineteenth century European styles. Commenting on Keith and the era, critic and *Jeune* Porter Garnett wrote, "His transcripts of nature are touched with poetry, but they display less refinement, less charm,and less individuality than the landscapes of [American George] Inness with whom he is frequently compared." Garnett pointedly concluded his judgment of local nineteenth century painting thusly: "While California has undoubtedly produced art, she has not produced *an art*. . . there is not yet an art that is characteristically Californian and at the same time universal."[11]

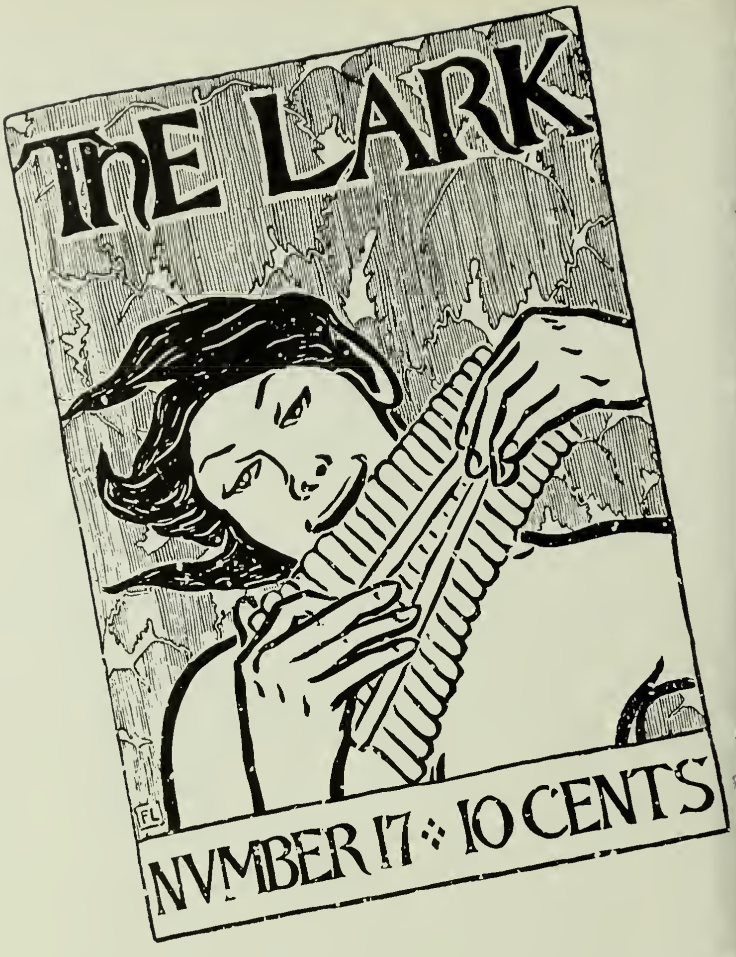
The two decades from the early 1870s to the early 1890s represent a flat period, even a regression, in the evolution of the city's cultural life.

Whatever the shortcomings of writers and artists in San Francisco during the 1860s, they did create a legitimate and somewhat distinctive cultural milieu. By the early '70s, however, most of the writers and painters had either left the city permanently or were frequently absent. Of the major writers, only Ina Coolbrith and Ambrose Bierce remained, while the others were lured away by eastern publishers or life in Europe. While several important painters maintained residence in San Francisco, most spent their time painting western landscapes, and their long working excursions in the High Sierra or Yosemite did little to quicken artistic life in San Francisco.

For the most part, the two decades from the early 1870s to the early 1890s represent a flat period, even a regression, in the evolution of the city's cultural life. The founding of the Bohemian Club in 1872 to promote fellowship among artists was more a tribute to what had gone on in the decade before than to exciting new cultural possibilities on the immediate horizon.

Writers of quality such as Bierce, Robert Duncan Milne, and W.C. Morrow, as well as interesting artists such as Jules Tavernier and Joe Strong, continued to work, but except for the brief excitement caused by the arrival of foreign literary lions like

The first issue of The Lark *extolled the California landscape of redwoods and sunsets, but, as suggested by its lingering fondness for the* Art Nouveau *"piping faun", the magazine relied heavily on European styles.*



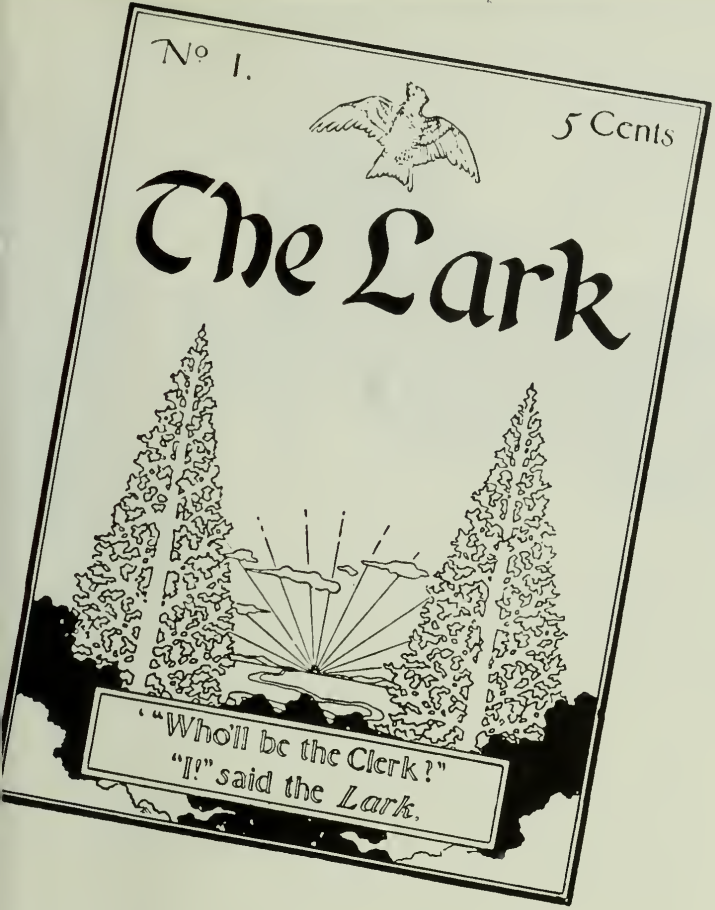
Stevenson, Oscar Wilde and Rudyard Kipling, the pace of cultural life and creative activity remained sluggish. Therefore, when Burgess, Porter, and their company ended Cogswell's reign on Market Street, an extremely significant moment in the revitalization of San Francisco's artistic life had occurred. A cultural renaissance had begun.

New artistic movements must have identifiable themes and principles, no small issue for *Les Jeunes*. Burgess could complain that though "there is no future too great for such a city as [San Francisco] . . . she still dozes, witless of her heritage. The arts languish and as yet are not factors in her life."[12] But where to turn to make art and literature once more a compelling part of the urban experience? By the 1890s, it was unthinkable to go back to the pioneer West, for Burgess and Porter's generation had no direct contact with mining, farming, banditry, frontier violence, and the attendant sentimentality, or with other familiar themes of early California which symbolized a seemingly cruder way of life.

In a similar sense, the young Bohemians of the '90s found little charm or force in the bland Romantic verse forms and simply narrated moral tales of the '60s. Instead, themes from nature seemed a more promising inheritance from the early writers, and both Burgess and Porter repeatedly emphasized how much an inspiration California's magnificent natural landscape was to their spirits and artistic creations.

Yet the attribution was strained. Bohemianism from its earliest days in Paris of the 1840s had always been an urban phenomenon. Perhaps it is true, as historian Emily Hahn has suggested, that westerners never really understood Bohemianism as a way of life, since they usually sought success and a pleasant material existence while ignoring the more authentic model of the artist rebelling against social and moral convention in the service of truth, beauty, and freedom.[13] Nonetheless, San Francisco's young writers and artists lived in a city filled with Victorian houses, grandiose hotels, and massive business and public buildings, a city with all the allure of urbane society and urban vice. Like other Bohemians who concentrated on the social and cultural possibilities of the city, not on a bucolic or innocent nature from the Romantic past, they tended to perceive and enjoy nature as merely one more diversion.

If California's past offered only limited possibilities for literary and artistic themes, then the present, *Les Jeunes* reasoned, had to provide the underpinnings for a truly regional Californian point of view and style. To begin with, they identified the youth and enthusiasm they perceived around them in San Francisco with their own youthful *élan*. No jaded, overcivilized, decadent art or literature would be tolerated. Their second underlying principle was a belief in the remarkable personal and artistic freedom


Nº 1.
5 Cents
The Lark
"Who'll be the Clerk?"
"I!" said the Lark.

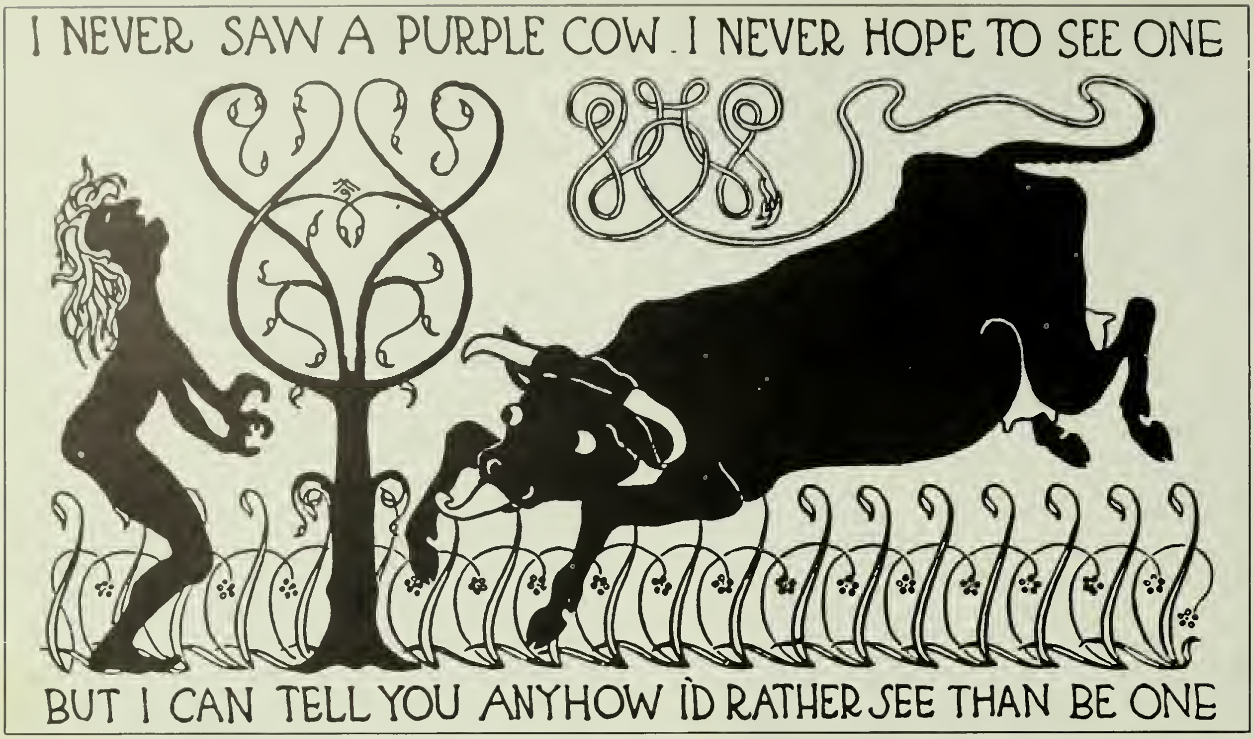
which the new society of California, untainted by older social and artistic convention, made possible: "Only here the Individual walks large, freed in the strong Air from the Servitude of his Traditions."[14] Youthful vitality, expressive freedom, insouciance, iconoclasm, experimentation, wit, intellect—these qualities along with a profound belief in the rich opportunities for a significant new California contribution to the cultural evolution of mankind were the touchstones for Burgess, Porter, and their compatriots. What they committed themselves to is what Kevin Starr describes as "a mood, a style—specifically and freshly Californian."[15] To live a life of art for art's sake in such an environment—as opposed to living in the jaded and decadent London of Oscar Wilde and Aubrey Beardsley—would result in great artistic and literary achievements and a new respect from the rest of the world for California's culture.

Armed with this sanguine philosophy, Burgess, Porter, and others of their set such as artists Ernest Peixotto and Florence Lundborg sought a cooperative venture where all of their "new" ideals and principles might be fully embodied. Fortuitously for *Les Jeunes*, the mid-1890s was the age of highly sophisticated "little magazines" dedicated to publishing *avant-garde* literature and art. The first and most famous of the new "little magazines" was *The Yellow Book*, begun in London in 1894, which published works by Henry James, Max Beerbohm, William Butler Yeats, and Aubrey Beardsley, among others. In America, the most successful example was Chicago's *Chap-Book*. To *Les Jeunes*, this format seemed perfectly suited to include the work of several contributors, most of whom were involved with both literature and the visual arts.

In 1895 Burgess and Porter thus decided to launch their own "little magazine" called *The Lark*. Burgess described *The Lark*'s genesis thusly:

> We had been watching the literary movements of the time very narrowly, and the impulse to strike for California grew in us. There was a new note of personal expression then becoming dominant, but not in the *Revue Blanche*, not in the *Yellow Book* nor yet in the Chicago *Chap-Book* did we seem to hear the tune ring true. Yes, we must demolish Decadence and its "precious" pretensions, and careless of the outcome so long as we had our stroke for freedom, we sent forth our *Lark*. Never was a periodical better named, for it mingled whimsicality with serious purpose, and most of its songs were set in the key of Humour.[16]

Once *The Lark* was in flight, Burgess continued, "We ran the gamut of French forms of verse, we exploited the sheerest of nonsense [and Burgess became at this time the leading practitioner of nonsense humor in America], we resurrected old definitions using the serious with the frivolities, in the belief that the sense of humour is but a corollary of the sense of earnestness. . . ."[17] All was for art, youth, and free-


I NEVER SAW A PURPLE COW . I NEVER HOPE TO SEE ONE
BUT I CAN TELL YOU ANYHOW I'D RATHER SEE THAN BE ONE

dom. Even the title of their new "little magazine" implied the whimsy and gaiety of "doing it just for a lark."

But the lark was also a time-honored poetic symbol of a bird that could fly toward heaven only as long as it continued to warble its lovely song. Shakespeare, an artist who helped create a renaissance in language and culture, was the source of the lark image, and Burgess made clear his own affinity for sixteenth-century England: "And if I ape the Elizabethans, it is but to strive for the impossibility of freedom that lasted while books were few. A word was slang to-day, and to-morrow, lo, it was literature! No patented phrases, no balanced periods and all forms inchoate!"[18] The theme of youthful renaissance pervaded *The Lark*, and the first issue, which was published (significantly) in the Spring of 1895, began with Bruce Porter's prologue: "A new note—some of the joy of the morning—set here for the refreshment of our souls in the heat of mid-day. With no more serious intention than to be gay—to sing a song, to tell a story. . . ."[19]

Almost at once the modestly produced *Lark* (it was printed on inexpensive bamboo paper purchased in Chinatown) caused a sensation not only locally, but throughout the nation. Major newspapers in the East as well as the rival *Chap-Book* in Chicago praised it as the most exciting new "little magazine" of its day. Though Burgess described his creation as "a sly delicacy, too rare a treat for public esteem," the circulation during its two years of publication rose to an impressive 3,000 subscriptions, in addition to book shop sales.[20]

Perhaps it was *The Lark*'s capturing of "the then unpopular and unfashionable mood of Optimism,"[21] perhaps it was the appearance in the first issue of Burgess' infectious nonsense poem, "The Purple Cow," which swept the country like wildfire, perhaps, as the *New York Times* reviewer commented, it was that *The Lark* was "incredibly, even impossibly, 1895." Whatever the reason, *Les Jeunes* had created a hit, and even their skeptical, more seriously literary friend, Frank Norris, was moved to comment that the popularity in the West of Harte, Bierce, Kipling, and Crane had been snatched away by "that little army of youthful volunteers known as *Les Jeunes*."[22] It seemed as if Burgess, Porter, Peixotto, Garnett, Lundborg, and the others had won the day for a new

Gelett Burgess
1897.

Gelett Burgess' smashingly popular "Purple Cow" deftly combined Beardsley's Art Nouveau *images and Lewis Carroll's mathematically precise nonsense verse. After the brief flight of* The Lark, *Burgess lived most of his life in New York and Europe.* Marvin Nathan Collection

California regional idiom grounded in the attractive ideals of youth, freedom, romance, spontaneity, and estheticism. But had they?

Between the time of San Francisco's first great creative burst in the 1860s and the publication of *The Lark* three decades later, a number of powerful new artistic and literary movements had emerged in Europe. By the early 1890s, even far-away San Francisco was awash in new styles and philosophies of art. French Post-Impressionism and *Art Nouveau*, largely an outgrowth of the English Pre-Raphaelite movement, were the two most compelling new styles in the visual arts. In literature, French Symbolist poetry, rooted in the work of Baudelaire and Mallarmé, and the peculiar English phenomenon, nonsense verse, best exemplified in the writings of Lewis Carroll, W.S. Gilbert, and Edward Lear, were in the height of fashion. The new artistic doctrine of Estheticism, born in Verlaine's Paris, was also flourishing in London by the 1880s. The Esthete in his guise as artist, dandy, or decadent, insisted that art, esthetic form, was more real and, therefore, more important than anything else in life. Sensuality, tasteful hedonism, and an indifference to the practical or moral applications of art were major elements in the Esthete's creed.

In 1882 Oscar Wilde, the most renowned example of the new Esthete, had visited San Francisco on a lecture tour, arriving dressed as an eighteenth-century dandy flaunting lace cuffs and collar, and smelling of cologne. Not surprisingly, Ambrose Bierce, child of an earlier age in California culture, was duly outraged by this "precious crystalline child" of the new literary world. But by the '90s—even in San Francisco—the elegant and cynical estheticism represented by Wilde, suavely termed "*fin de siècle*" (or end of the century) was considered the height of fashion among many people connected with the arts, literature, and high society.

Although the new artistic styles—Post-Impressionism, *Art Nouveau*, Symbolism, Nonsense Verse, and Estheticism—differed radically from one another, they shared a common tendency to move art away from life by making visual and literary pieces worlds unto themselves, with only limited application to social or moral issues and little concern for the perennial basic questions about the human condition which artists and writers have traditionally confronted. *Les Jeunes*, entranced by a wide variety of such new abstract styles which moved art away from the local and immediate, had little chance to create a true regional culture in *fin de siècle* San Francisco.

While *The Lark* was to be the clarion call of "a San Francisco renaissance," *Les Jeunes*' commitment to such new abstract styles made this call one heavy with English and French accents. If, as his biographer Joseph Backus maintains, Burgess "as nonsense poet, writer, illustrator and editor . . . became the embodiment of a wide range of contemporary tastes and the best example, therefore, of the Renaissance man in

San Francisco,"[23] then his example was heavily dependent on foreign contemporaries. Though he attacked "Decadence," Burgess himself was something of a dandy who openly admired Oscar Wilde's wit, as well as Aubrey Beardsley's often scandalous illustrations. ("B is for Beardsley, the idol supreme, Whose drawings are not half so bad as they seem," he wrote in 1896.) From his youth as well, Burgess was thoroughly conversant with Carroll, Gilbert and Lear, the best of the English nonsense versifiers. Through fellow artist and close friend Ernest Peixotto, who had recently studied in Paris, he and the other *Jeunes* were educated in the latest French painting techniques. Similarly, associate Bruce Porter remained the foremost champion of *Art Nouveau* in San Francisco following his visit to Burne-Jones' studio in England.

While the editors who launched *The Lark* espoused ideals of youth, freedom, and California's artistic possibilities, the style and substance of their magazine were based on direct contacts with forces wholly apart from Californian or even western American culture and experience. In the pages of *The Lark*, there is little genuine social satire or literary criticism and few examples of serious original prose or poetry. Instead, there is a *pastiche* of nonsense verse, highly derivative poetry in many of the traditional French verse forms, generalized essays on esthetics, brief romantic episodes set in no particular place or time, witty observations, puns, spoofs, illuminated letters, and a large number of illustrations. Some of the latter are based on Edward Lear's *Book of Bosh*, some on Post-Impressionism, some on Beardsley's black and white drawings, some on generalized *Art Nouveau* models. Only occasionally does one detect genuine originality in *The Lark*'s visual presentation. While there are vitality, spontaneity, and some imagination, the inspiration and style are too derivative of other times and places, the material too disparate, to create any articulate expression of a new regional culture or "Californian style."

In fact, a good deal of *The Lark*'s national popularity can be attributed to *Les Jeunes*' sensitivity to the most attractive *avant-garde* fashions of their day. The format and structure of *The Lark*, according to Burgess' biographer Backus, was but a manifestation of *Art Nouveau* style:

> Since the contents of [the] little magazine existed for their own sake, like other manifestations of *Art Nouveau*, and not for any direct connections with their surroundings, *The Lark* became a fitting singer for the new movement. Because *Art Nouveau* was mainly concerned with a tasteful organic relationship between idea and style, rather than with any deeper concept, it grew with the rootless luxuriance of an air-plant, toppling soon beneath its own weight.[24]

The inescapable conclusion that one must draw about what *Les Jeunes* created is that, for all its cultured style, wit, esthetic posturing, and animated illustrations, it contained no central conviction, no stylistic coherence, no specific or profound intellectual commitment. Rather than creators of a Californian idiom, they were talented, often imaginative purveyors of recent European cultural ideas and styles to San Francisco and the rest of the nation. *Les Jeunes* were yet another generation of California provincials, only slightly more sophisticated than their predecessors of the 1860s.

After two years of existence, *The Lark* began losing its local and national popularity. In perspective, the embittered Burgess' magazine was but another example of *fin de siècle* fashion, and, like all works of fashion, it became passé. Had *Les Jeunes* produced an art or literature that were authentic to their region, its history, and contemporary experience, their fate might have been different. But a genuine artistic regionalism in California would not fully emerge until after World War I when Robinson Jeffers, John

Steinbeck, William Saroyan, Dashiel Hammett, and Raymond Chandler, among others, created a literature true to the western landscape.

And, yet, what Burgess, Porter, and the others accomplished was nevertheless substantial. Vigorous and sensitive, they gave birth to a cultural revival in San Francisco during the 1890s and, in so doing, quickened the flagging artistic and literary life of the city. When Dr. Cogswell's effigy crashed to the ground, much of the insularity and stagnation of San Francisco's cultural life came tumbling down with it.

Notes

1. For a contemporary account of this incident, see "A Fountain's Fall," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 2, 1894, p. 2.
2. Gelett Burgess, *Escape from Reality: Notes Toward an Autobiography*, unpublished manuscript in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, pp. 37, 41a, 47. This work dates from the period 1937-41.
3. Warren Unna, *The Coppa's Murals* (San Francisco 1952), p. 42.
4. In the east, and particularly in Massachusetts, the Unitarian Church became a bastion of culture and the arts because of its liberal attitudes and the people attracted by those attitudes. When Boston fire-brand Thomas Starr King arrived in San Francisco in 1860 to become the pastor of the First Unitarian Church, he brought with him not only religious ardor, but the same concern for the cultural life of the community which he had grown accustomed to in New England. Along with his dynamic sermons and pro-Union speeches, King gave public lectures on American history, literature, and philosophy, while encouraging the promising young writer Bret Harte.

   Though King died in 1864, the cultural tradition with which he imbued San Francisco's Unitarian community did not die with him. By the early 1890s, the church was sponsoring the Onward Club, composed of young men and women interested in literature and the arts, as well as in religion. The members, including Gelett Burgess, Bruce Porter, Willis Polk, Florence Lundborg, and Porter Garnett, met regularly at the Russian Hill home of wealthy Unitarian matron Kate Atkinson, friend of young artists from Mark Twain in the '60s to the Bohemians of the '90s. The Onward Club had a rural retreat in the redwoods north of San Francisco called Camp Ha-Ha, and it was here that Burgess, Porter, and Garnett first laid plans to publish a small journal.
5. Burgess, *Escape from Reality*, p. 3; Burgess *The Heart Line* (New York, 1907), pp. 136-7, 364.
6. Burgess, *Behind the Scenes*, edited by Joseph M. Backus (San Francisco, 1968), Introduction, p. 11.
7. Unna, *The Coppa's Murals*, p. 46.
8. Burgess, *Bayside Bohemia: Fin de Siecle San Francisco and Its Little Magazines*, edited by James D. Hart (San Francisco, 1954), p. 19.
9. In a general sense, the new cultural ferment stirred in San Francisco by *Les Jeunes* helped produce a more receptive atmosphere for the emergence of other creative young people. In a more specific sense, the personal and artistic relationships of several of *Les Jeunes* such as Burgess, Porter, Ernest Peixotto, and Porter Garnett with other rising young local writers and artists such as Jack London, Frank Norris, Will Irwin, George Sterling, Maynard Dixon, Xavier Martinez, and Arnold Genthe, were broadened and deepened by their mutual membership in the Bohemian Club and their cooperative participation in the club's theatrical productions and summer retreats on the Russian River.
10. Bruce Porter, "The Beginning of Art in California" in *Art in California: A Survey of American Art with Special Reference to Californian Painting Sculpture and Architecture Past and Present Particularly as Those Acts Were Represented at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (San Francisco, 1916), p. 31. Porter probably wrote this passage in 1915.
11. Porter Garnett, "California's Place in Art," in *Art in California*, pp. 44, 39.
12. Burgess, *Bayside Bohemia*, p. 15.
13. Emily Hahn, *Romantic Rebels* (Boston, 1967), pp. 71-2.
14. *Phyllida; or The Milkmaid*, no. 1, January 1897. This small literary journal published by Burgess, Porter (quoted), and Porter Garnett ran only two numbers.
15. Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream: 1850-1915* (New York, 1973), p. 259.
16. Burgess, *Bayside Bohemia*, pp. 19-20. This passage was written in 1899.
17. Ibid., p. 21.
18. Burgess, *Lady Méchante* (New York, 1909), Introduction, pp. ix-x.
19. *The Lark*, No. 1, San Francisco, May 1, 1895, p. 3.
20. Burgess, *Bayside Bohemia*, Introduction, p. vii.
21. Ibid., p. 22.
22. *Frank Norris of "The Wave": Stories and Sketches from the San Francisco Weekly, 1893 to 1897* (San Francisco, 1931), p. 77. Norris wrote this passage for the December 1897 issue of *The Wave*.
23. Burgess, *Behind the Scenes*, p. 33.
24. Ibid., p. 12.

What Happened to Les

At any given time between 1895 and 1897, there were ten to twelve individuals considered members of *Les Jeunes*. Among this shifting number, about half can be viewed as peripheral to the group because they arrived on the scene late or made few contributions to *The Lark*.

Of these less central members, Burgess' brother Clinton died soon after the halcyon days of the 1890s. The young Japanese poet Yoni Noguchi gained a good deal of notice in the East and in Europe for his verse. He eventually returned to Japan where he became a professor of English and for some years produced an impressive array of poetry and literary criticism. *San Francisco Examiner* reporter Juliet Wilbor Tompkins continued her career in journalism and had modest success as a writer of short fiction and novels. Carolyn Wells, already an established story writer when she contributed to *The Lark*, went on to become a much published and popular author of detective stories, children's books, and poetry, as well as the editor of several widely read humor anthologies. Although Maynard Dixon was never officially listed among *Les Jeunes*, the young artist was a good friend to several in the group and contributed a drawing to *The Lark*. Over the next half-century, Dixon established himself as one of the great masters of western landscape painting.

Central figures in the Les Jeunes *set*

Florence Lundborg, contributor of several cover illustrations and posters to *The Lark*, spent some years studying in Paris and elsewhere in Europe before settling down in San Francisco as a successful painter. Her best known public commission is the group of murals executed in 1915 and exhibited in the California Building at the Panama Pacific International Exposition.

Willis Polk, highly instrumental in the formation of *Les Jeunes*, though he contributed only a few drawings to *The Lark*, was already a prominent local architect by the early 1890s, and in the years following, he established himself as the most important and innovative designer of buildings in San Francisco. He was a leading practitioner of the Beaux-Arts School, a pioneer in the use of Mission Revival Style, and an early adherent of the Bay Area shingle house. Until his death in 1924, Polk designed dozens of buildings in the city and restored many more after the earthquake and fire of 1906, including the Mission Dolores and the Flood mansion on Nob Hill. He is responsible for some of San Francisco's most striking public structures such as the Hobart Building on Market Street and the Hallidie Building on Sutter. Among many public commissions, Polk served as supervising architect for the Panama Pacific International Exposition.

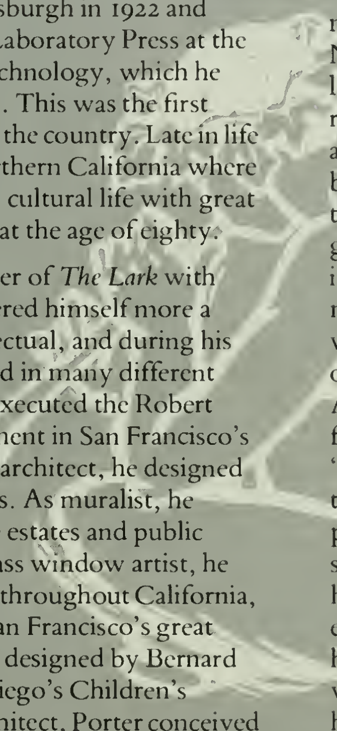
Ernest Peixotto, Parisian-trained artist who drew eleven of *The Lark*'s twenty-five covers and other drawings as well, went on to become a highly successful writer and illustrator of travel books. His best known work, *Romantic California* (1910), is frequently reprinted. Peixotto also wrote well-regarded popular histories of the American Revolution (*A Revolutionary Pilgrimage*) and World War I (*The American Front*). He remained a significant figure in San Francisco's cultural life and an active member of the Bohemian Club until his death in 1940.

Porter Garnett, esthete and critic, contributor of many elegantly written pieces to *The Lark* and Burgess' closest *confidant* on cultural ideas, lived a long and fruitful life committed to scholarship and the arts. Though he never attended college, the aristocratic and encyclopaedic Garnett wrote works on California architecture and painting, the Spanish exploration of California, and the history of the Bohemian Club plays, in addition to penning one such play himself. He also illustrated books, including one by poet Edwin Markham. In the first decade of the twentieth century, Garnett was a regular arts critic for *The San Francisco Morning Call* and edited the famous San Francisco literary journal, *The Argonaut*. He also worked at The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and soon after became curator of The Academy of Pacific Coast History and edited *The Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance* of 1851. For several years Garnett was the producer of the Parthenaean festival at the University of California. While living in Berkeley, Garnett took as his literary protégée the young writer Janet Flanner who later on, under the pen name "Genet," became one of the leading columnists for *The New Yorker Magazine*.

Always interested in the art of fine printing, Garnett travelled to Pittsburgh in 1922 and established the famous Laboratory Press at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, which he directed for fifteen years. This was the first school of fine printing in the country. Late in life Garnett returned to Northern California where he once more entered its cultural life with great energy. He died in 1951 at the age of eighty.

Bruce Porter, co-founder of *The Lark* with Burgess, always considered himself more a craftsman than an intellectual, and during his long life he experimented in many different media. As sculptor, he executed the Robert Louis Stevenson monument in San Francisco's Portsmouth Square. As architect, he designed houses in Pacific Heights. As muralist, he painted scenes in private estates and public buildings. As stained glass window artist, he created dozens of works throughout California, including windows at San Francisco's great Swedenborgian Church designed by Bernard Maybeck and the San Diego's Children's Home. As landscape architect, Porter conceived and executed many of the finest gardens in Pacific Heights and on the San Francisco Peninsula. Probably his most famous work of landscape architecture is at Woodside on the William Bourn estate known as "Filoli" which Porter designed to accompany the dramatic house built in 1916 by his old *Lark* compatriot, Willis Polk. Like Peixotto and Garnett, he remained an active member of the Bohemian Club and maintained a position of great respect in the Bay Area artistic community until his death in 1953.

Gelett Burgess, the guiding spirit of *The Lark* and its most prolific contributor, was the only one of *Les Jeunes* to gain an international reputation. Despite this recognition, his long life after the demise of the magazine in 1897 was neither happy nor particularly successful. Always sharp-tongued and cantankerous, Burgess, who after a brief stint replacing his friend Frank Norris as a reporter for the San Francisco journal, *The Wave*, divided most of his life between New York City and Paris, was burdened by long periods of poverty and an unhappy marriage to an invalid. In spite of repeated economic and critical reverses, he wrote thirty-seven books, including nonsense humor, children's tales (the "Goop" series), self-improvement guides, cookbooks, spy stories, murder mysteries, and boy-meets-girl romances. Probably his most important novel is *The Heart Line* (1907), a wonderful period piece about the sleazy world of spiritualism in pre-earthquake San Francisco. Always a self-promoter, Burgess unsuccessfully attempted to have a musical based on his "Purple Cow" poem produced on Broadway in the late 1920s, and in the early 1940s, he tried to persuade Cecil B. DeMille to film one of his stories. Burgess continued to write throughout his life, finishing his final book, the last of his eight Goop books for children, shortly before his death in 1951 at Carmel-by-the-Sea where he was caring for his terminally ill sister. Though his own fiction tended to be contrived and unconvincing, Burgess was always alive to the newest cultural and social currents, and he numbered among his acquaintances Henry James, Pablo Picasso, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt.



Woodcut from The Lark*'s first poster, "The Piping Faun".*

TRAMPLING OUT

Kern County's Ban

Armies of midwestern white, black, and Chicano laborers moved from migrant camp to camp following the ripening crops. Poor wages and living conditions in counties like Kern and Imperial, where these workers picked peas, prompted congressional investigations into the effects of the employment system. Dorothea Lange, Oakland Museum

Tim Kappel

THE VINEYARDS—
on *The Grapes of Wrath*

They drove through Tehachapi in the morning glow, and the sun came up behind them, and then—suddenly they saw the great valley below them. Al jammed on the brake and stopped in the middle of the road, and, "Jesus Christ! Look!" he said. The vineyards, the orchards, the great flat valley, green and beautiful, the trees set in rows, and the farm houses.

And Pa said, "God Almighty . . . . I never knowed they was anything like her." The peach trees and the walnut groves, and the dark green patches of oranges. And red roofs among the trees, and barns—rich barns.

from The Grapes of Wrath

John Steinbeck's classic book, *The Grapes of Wrath*, was published in April 1939. By August of that year, it had entered its seventh printing and was on its way to becoming one of the most popular American novels of all time.

For many readers, Steinbeck's story of the Joad family offered a moving depiction of the plight of the nation's Dust Bowl refugees. Others were shocked by the tale's frank descriptions of the poverty and brutality of migrant life, and they denounced it as an open attack upon "decent citizens."

For Steinbeck, who had travelled through California's rich farmlands and lived with the migrants, *The Grapes of Wrath* was not merely a sympathetic rendering of one family's trials, but a conscious portrayal of the harsh daily conditions experienced by migrant laborers. It was Steinbeck's avowed intention to criticize the system of agricultural production which, he believed, perpetuated these conditions. In one of a series of articles on migrant labor published in 1936, Steinbeck frankly reflected, "If as has been stated by a large grower, our agriculture requires the creation and maintenance of a peon class, then . . . California agriculture is economically unsound under a democracy."[1]

On its surface, Steinbeck's story describes the Joad family's inability to make a living on their parched Oklahoma farm and their decline into poverty. Driven from their land and heritage, they journey west to California in an ancient, overloaded auto. In California, as they move from Arvin to Gridley and on to Tulare in search of work, the Joads are brutalized by a system of agricultural production that requires them to be rootless migrant laborers. Predicting that the Joad family and the 100,000 other migrants who arrived yearly in California between 1935 and 1940 would not indefinitely tolerate these oppressive conditions, Steinbeck warned Americans toward the end of his story, "In the souls of the people, the grapes of wrath are filling and growing heavy, heavy for the vintage."[2]

Not surprisingly, considering the book's timely subject and Steinbeck's views, *The Grapes of Wrath* was attacked or praised less as a novel than as a factual social document.[3] Fearful of the effect of Steinbeck's stirring portrayal of the treatment of migrants and concerned that the novel's undeniable message would lead to investigations into migrant living and working conditions, large agricultural interests—as well as moral conservatives opposed to the frank language and events contained in the epic drama—attempted to prevent the circulation of the book in towns throughout the United States. The library board of East Saint Louis, Illinois, ordered three copies of the book ceremoniously burned on the courthouse steps. In Buffalo, New York, the librarian refused to purchase copies of the book, and in Kansas City, the Board of Education ordered *The Grapes of Wrath* removed from the library shelves. None of these moves, however, was as vigorous or

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The Chamber of Commerce secretary, a county supervisor, and the president of the Associated Farmers organization spoke out against allowing The Grapes of Wrath *to be read in Kern County. Look,* October 24, 1939

successful as the coordinated campaign to suppress the novel mounted in California.

In Kern County, California, the heartland of America's "harvest of plenty," the County Board of Supervisors requested on August 21, 1939, that the use, possession, and circulation of *The Grapes of Wrath* be banned from the county's libraries and schools. To the residents of Bakersfield, the county seat, and the remainder of Kern County, this ban on the novel came as a complete surprise. No complaints had been registered at the local libraries, no articles or editorials had debated the merit of the book, and the Board of Supervisors had never previously discussed the issue.

When the ban was announced, the most common reaction in Kern County was one of disbelief. Within days, the county librarian, the rural press, local unions, and the 600 readers who already had reserved the book at the library joined in an effort to rescind the ban.

During the course of the long controversy that ensued, public debate often focused on the validity of Steinbeck's representation of the migrants and his frank description of the misery of their lives. But as events unfolded in Kern, it became clear that the course of this seemingly local battle was influenced by larger corporate agricultural interests who were determined to stave off any challenge to their control of agricultural working conditions.

In fact, the attack on *The Grapes of Wrath* was coordinated and well-timed. On the day following the passage of the ban in Kern County, the Associated Farmers of California, a powerful statewide organization made up of large growers and business people, announced its plans for a California campaign to halt the circulation of Steinbeck's novel. On August 23, Associated Farmers President W.B. Camp proclaimed that the organization would "immediately launch a project to have other counties in the state take suitable action" against the novel, further noting that "other groups are already entering the arena to battle the smear against the state."[4]

Created through the joint efforts of the California Farm Bureau Federation and the State Chamber of Commerce, the Associated Farmers was financially backed by the Canners League and large landholders including Standard Oil of California, the Bank of America, and Southern Pacific Railroad. Established in 1933, the Associated Farmers' purpose was to organize local citizens' committees to pass anti-picketing regulations. These regulations, it was believed, would squash agricultural workers' strikes and unionizing attempts before they could seriously upset existing practices. To begin the statewide campaign, the Associated Farmers executive board appointed Edson Abel of the California Farm Bureau Federation and R.N. Wilson to recruit local farming and business interests to its cause. In 1934 Wilson reported on the success of the group's efforts:

> More than twenty counties have passed [anti]picketing ordinances and a few have passed [anti-migrant] camp ordinances. In addition, the respective counties have in most cases perfected some type of organization to meet whatever communistic troubles may develop. . . .[5]

In its second phase of organizing, the Associated Farmers turned to membership drives in order to form local units capable of mobilizing for massive strike-breaking efforts throughout the state. Equipping its members for large-scale actions, the organization stockpiled arsenals of tear gas and ammunition and deputized large numbers of local farmers.

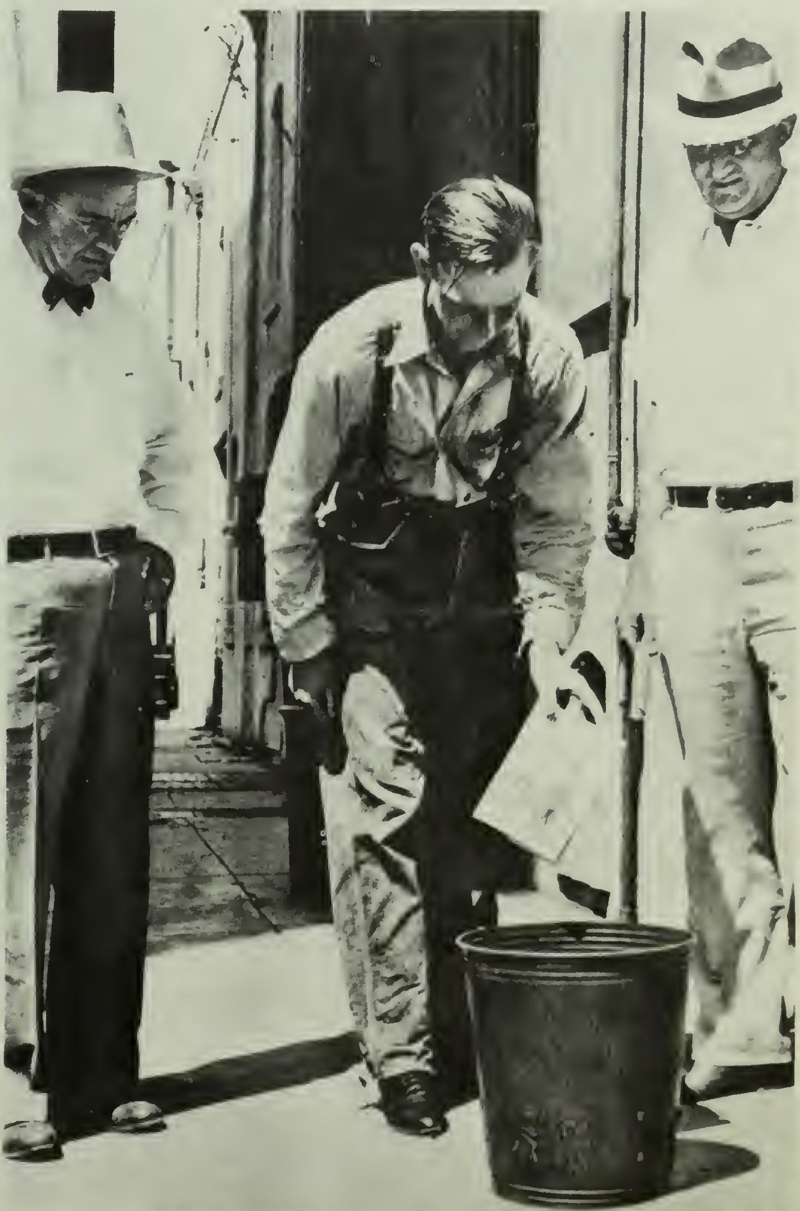
In 1937, the strike-breaking tactics of the Associated Farmers were highlighted in the Stockton Cannery Workers' strike. In this campaign, the local sheriff turned over command of the vigilante group

"THE GRAPES OF WRATH" IS "OBSCENE . . . FILTHY . . . VILE PROPAGANDA . . . FALSE SENSATIONALISM"

"A Distorted Picture," is what Emory Hoffman, secretary of the Kern County, Cal., Chamber of Commerce says of Steinbeck's book. To refute it, he filmed a short, "Plums of Plenty." He claims "The Grapes of Wrath" has scared thousands of tourists away from Kern County.

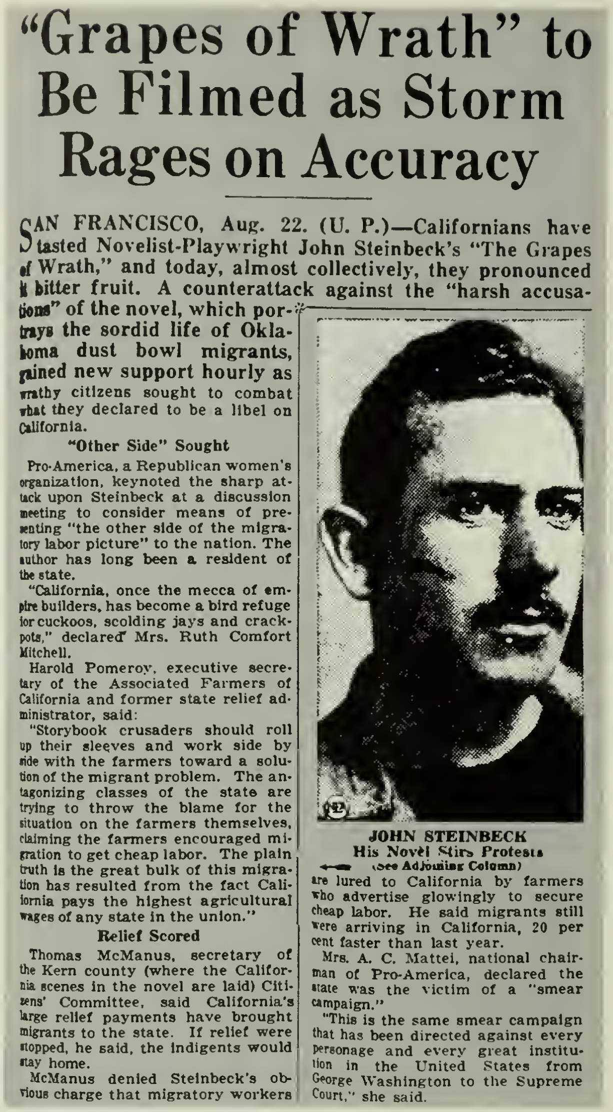
"'The Grapes of Wrath' Is a Filthy Book," according to Stanley Abel, supervisor who helped ban the book in Kern County. Abel says: "It offends our citizenry by falsely implying that many of our fine people are low . . . our public officials . . . inhuman vigilantes."

Healthy Children like these not starving ones are typical of the crop country according to Associated Farmers. The Kern County C of C in answer to Steinbeck's statements about the cruel treatment of migrants, insists it spent $6.72 per capita for all relief last year.



"The Grapes of Wrath" is burned and banned in Bakersfield, Cal., with the approval of W. B. Camp, president of the Associated Farmers of Kern County (left). Said Camp: "We are angry because we were attacked by a book obscene in the extreme sense of the word. It is too filthy for you to point out its vile propaganda false sensationalism. Americans have the right to say what they please, but they do not have the right to attack a community in such words that any red-blooded American would refuse to allow his daughter to read them."

Steinbeck's critics charged that by unfairly blaming farmers for the grim migrant living conditions, Steinbeck "libeled" the state's reputation. Bakersfield Californian, August 22, 1939



"Grapes of Wrath" to Be Filmed as Storm Rages on Accuracy

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 22. (U. P.)—Californians have tasted Novelist-Playwright John Steinbeck's "The Grapes of Wrath," and today, almost collectively, they pronounced it bitter fruit. A counterattack against the "harsh accusations" of the novel, which portrays the sordid life of Oklahoma dust bowl migrants, gained new support hourly as wrathy citizens sought to combat what they declared to be a libel on California.

"Other Side" Sought

Pro-America, a Republican women's organization, keynoted the sharp attack upon Steinbeck at a discussion meeting to consider means of presenting "the other side of the migratory labor picture" to the nation. The author has long been a resident of the state.

"California, once the mecca of empire builders, has become a bird refuge for cuckoos, scolding jays and crackpots," declared Mrs. Ruth Comfort Mitchell.

Harold Pomeroy, executive secretary of the Associated Farmers of California and former state relief administrator, said:

"Storybook crusaders should roll up their sleeves and work side by side with the farmers toward a solution of the migrant problem. The antagonizing classes of the state are trying to throw the blame for the situation on the farmers themselves, claiming the farmers encouraged migration to get cheap labor. The plain truth is the great bulk of this migration has resulted from the fact California pays the highest agricultural wages of any state in the union."

Relief Scored

Thomas McManus, secretary of the Kern county (where the California scenes in the novel are laid) Citizens' Committee, said California's large relief payments have brought migrants to the state. If relief were stopped, he said, the indigents would stay home.

McManus denied Steinbeck's obvious charge that migratory workers are lured to California by farmers who advertise glowingly to secure cheap labor. He said migrants still were arriving in California, 20 per cent faster than last year.

JOHN STEINBECK
His Novel Stirs Protests
← (See Adjoining Column)

Mrs. A. C. Mattei, national chairman of Pro-America, declared the state was the victim of a "smear campaign."

"This is the same smear campaign that has been directed against every personage and every great institution in the United States from George Washington to the Supreme Court," she said.

to the past president of the Associated Farmers, Colonel Walter E. Garrison. Under his leadership, 400 local farmers were deputized, supplied with ammunition, and organized in military fashion. When neither farmers nor the cannery workers were able to gain a decisive advantage in the battle that ensued, a negotiator was brought in, and the cannery workers agreed to go back to work. As they returned to the factory, however, they were mobbed by 150 armed and deputized farmers. Despite the attempts of union leaders to call the workers back, a fierce battle broke out, resulting in injuries. Although the Associated Farmers were widely criticized for this violent attack, they nevertheless succeeded in breaking the cannery workers' strike.[6]

Highly organized, well-funded, and capable of mobilizing massive resources in their campaign to halt the unionizing of agricultural workers, the Associated Farmers had considerable experience by 1939 in initiating the passage of local ordinances. They also had good community contacts through their close affiliation with both the Chamber of Commerce and the California Farm Bureau Federation. As supporters of the ban against Steinbeck's novel, the Associated Farmers proved to be a force to be reckoned with in Kern County. Steinbeck himself perhaps anticipated the incident when he wrote in 1936, "When such a close-knit financial group as the Associated Farmers becomes excited about our ancient liberties and foreign agitators, someone is about to lose something."[7]

The announcement of the county-wide ban on *The Grapes of Wrath* sent shock waves through Kern. On that Monday, August 21, Kern County librarian Gretchen Schenk had just returned from vacation, and around 3:00 p.m. she was handed the supervisors' resolution ordering the books removed from the library shelves.

> I immediately went upstairs to the boardroom where I met [Supervisor Stanley] Abel, all others having gone. I asked him as to the origin of the resolution, and after considerable badinage he admitted that he had asked Emery Gay Hoffman, secretary of the Kern County Chamber of Commerce, to write the resolution for him. . . .[8]

Naturally, Mrs. Schenk was stunned by the news. That night she wrote a letter to each of the supervisors who had voted for the resolution in which she stated her strong opposition to the ban. In the letter she hinted that outside interests might have "sprung" the resolution on the board and applied a great deal of pressure, but she urged that

> in the interest of a healthy and vigorous democracy, where everyone can speak his mind freely and without fear, and for the sake of the 600 readers in Kern County who wish to read the book, please rescind today's vote when you meet next Monday.[9]

Throughout the week, the ban was the subject of hot debate, and the library staff could barely attend to their regular work because of the number of protests received from patrons. Joining in denouncing the supervisors' action, local unions formed a special committee to appear at the next meeting of the board. United in the effort to remove the ban were the Oil Workers Union Local 19, the Hod Carriers Union, the Butchers Union, the Brotherhood of Engineers, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and the Workers Alliance, an organization of relief recipients. Soon after the passage of the ban, R.W. Henderson, counsel for the local branch of the ACLU, gave an address on local radio in which he criticized the supervisors' action, stating that it was "impossible to overstate this attack upon American constitutional rights."[10] Furor over abridgment of democratic principles, however, was not the only response to the ban.

Though some of the debate about the book banning centered on the ethics of the supervisors' action or the book's candid language, it was the broader hidden motivation for the board's ban that finally surfaced as the major concern. Highly critical articles and editorials in the press throughout the Central Valley played an important role in focusing this debate.

On the day that W.B. Camp, president of the Associated Farmers, announced the organization's plan for statewide action against *The Grapes of Wrath* similar to the action taken in Kern County, the *Fresno Bee* carried a critical article describing the Pro-America group that immediately endorsed this censorship campaign. Pro-America, a national women's organization meeting at San Francisco's Palace Hotel, had denounced *The Grapes of Wrath*, along with Carey McWilliams' agricultural exposé, *Factories in the Fields*, as a "lie promoting class hatred." Speakers at the meeting, according to the skeptical *Bee* article, also declared that the "farmworkers of California are better paid and better housed than agricultural workers anywhere else in the world."[11]

Generally, California's rural press remained unimpressed with the politics of these "special" citizens' groups. In a response to the Pro-America meeting, the *Selma Irrigator* questioned:

> As for the meeting in San Francisco at which Mr. Steinbeck's book was denounced, wasn't it significant that the men and women who have read the book but don't want others to read it assembled in one of San Francisco's most luxurious hotels far from the San Joaquin cotton fields.[12]

Like other local voices, John Raymond Locke of the *Dinuba Sentinel* related the book to local experience:

> It is absolutely foolish to try and deny the conditions pictured, whether of the Dust Bowl West or of our own California. Here in our own state most of the pioneers have been "run off" the land they brought into bearing. Look over files of the *Sentinel* for the past 20 years and see the hundreds that have been foreclosed.[13]

With the hope that the board meeting on August 28, a week after the ban was announced, might result in a vote to rescind the measure, local and some national attention focused on the elected supervisors and how they voted. Most of the men revealed themselves to be decidedly ambivalent on their positions regarding the book. Ralph Lavin, who was elected with American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations support, was the only supervisor who had voted against passage of the resolution. Explaining his reasons, Lavin said that he hadn't read the book but considered the "action an abridgement of free speech, and I don't think it is the business of supervisors to censor books."[14] For his minority stand, Lavin became somewhat of a community hero and the focus of national interest when *Time* magazine described his defense of the rights of local citizens.

Another supervisor who had originally voted for the ban, Charles Wimmer, was reportedly willing to change his vote at the second board meeting. In an article in the *Kern Herald*, Wimmer said that though he had not read the book, he had voted for the ban "under the impression that the Steinbeck book had maligned Oklahomans, [and] that he [Wimmer] had made a mistake and was not afraid to admit it."[15]

As for the chairman of the Board of Supervisors, W.R. Woolomes conveniently left on vacation immediately after voting for passage of the resolution and disappeared from sight throughout the controversy. C.W. Harty, who had originally voted to remove the book after only "sketching" through it, was thought to be willing to change his vote. He was viewed as the swing vote who could turn the tide and rescind the ban.

A key figure in the strange scene remained Supervisor Stanley Abel (no known relation to Edson Abel, an original organizer of the Associated Farmers). The sponsor of the resolution, Stanley Abel admitted having read only parts of the book. While there was no anticipation that Abel would change his vote, there was speculation about his motivation for introducing the ban. Some critics suspected influence from the Associated Farmers, but when asked about the organization's involvement, Abel ingenuously replied, "Associated Farmers? I don't even know any Associated Farmers. Oh, I might know one or two of them."[16]

Just as the ban had taken the residents of Kern County by surprise, the resolution drafted by the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and proposed by Stanley Abel had caught the supervisors off guard. What the individual actors would decide at the second board meeting, especially in the face of wide public opposition to the ban and the suspected but unidentified intervention of the Associated Farmers, was unknown. But the expressed ambivalence on the issue among the supervisors themselves promised to make the upcoming meeting of the board one not to be missed.

Despite his role in creating the controversy, author John Steinbeck kept a guarded silence, steadfastly refusing to address his critics. Long months of writing and the emotional strain of being attacked as an immoral and communistic rabble-rouser had taken their toll. On August 23, the *Fresno Bee* reported that Steinbeck had left Hollywood where he was working with 20th Century Fox on the movie version of *The Grapes of Wrath*, starring Henry Fonda, and returned to his home in Los Gatos suffering from nervous exhaustion and arthritis. In the interview, Steinbeck declined to comment on the attacks made by the Associated Farmers against his book.[17]

Privately, however, Steinbeck was well aware of the fury that his book had unleashed and, indeed, the personal danger he was in. In June 1939, he wrote to a friend that the Associated Farmers had tried to make him retract his book. But everything he had written about, he continued, was thoroughly documented by Wisconsin Senator Robert La Follette's investigating committee which was conducting hearings throughout California about the causes of the massive American migration and migrant workers' living conditions. Legislation to protect migrant laborers was

Entering the fray about the Bakersfield book banning, Look *canvassed prominent Americans about the propriety of turning the controversial book into a film.*
Look, October 24, 1939

LOOK ASKED THEM: "DO YOU THINK 'THE GRAPES OF WRATH' SHOULD BE FILMED?"

Clifton Fadiman, book critic and master of ceremonies on "Information Please": "Yes, why not?"

Senator Downey of California: "While conditions depicted in 'The Grapes of Wrath' are mainly those of three years ago, there is still much to do in alleviating human misery . . . The picturization of this story should benefit the entire United States."

Governor Olson of California: "I firmly believe 20th Century-Fox studios should make 'The Grapes of Wrath' as a feature picture. Let us hope it will help focus sufficient attention on the plight of migrants to speed a federal program for their relief."

Producer Walter Wanger: "If the motion picture is to be an important medium of expression, I think 'The Grapes of Wrath' should be filmed."

Walter Winchell, Broadway columnist, radio reporter and drama critic on the *New York Mirror*: "Yes, I do. Didn't Zanuck buy it?"

Ruth Comfort Mitchell, author and president of Pro-America, an organization combating "smear books" like Steinbeck's: "I feel 'The Grapes of Wrath' should be filmed. If pictured with fidelity to Steinbeck it will . . . make us aware of the rapidly spreading menace of communism."

Henry Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture: "If a motion picture can tell this story, and tell it with justice both to migrants and to farm families struggling to keep from becoming migrants, then I think such a picture might result in more constructive thinking and acting by our nation."

John Ford, maker of 'The Informer,' who will direct the motion-picture version of Steinbeck's book: "The problem presented in 'The Grapes of Wrath' is one which the people and government of the United States recognize as existing and requiring solution. That is complete justification for filming this book."

Henry Fonda, who has been picked to play the lead in the movie: "The Joad family in 'The Grapes of Wrath' is symbolic of thousands of American families whose plight is now a tragic one. Something must be done about all these Joads, and the picture is bound to bring the necessity into sharper focus."

Discussion moved from whether The Grapes of Wrath *was an obscene book and whether county supervisors should dictate the morals of library patrons to the hospitalization of indigents.*

definitely in the air. As a result, Steinbeck concluded with some measure of relief, "They can't shoot me now because it would be too obvious."[18] Many years later, Steinbeck remembered:

> When *The Grapes of Wrath* got loose, a lot of people were pretty mad at me. The undersheriff of Santa Clara County was a friend of mine and told me, "Don't go into any hotel rooms alone. Keep records of every minute you are off the (Los Gatos) ranch, travel with one or two friends, but particularly, don't stay in a hotel room alone." "Why?" I asked. He said, "Maybe I'm sticking my neck out, but the boys got a rape case set up for you. You get alone in a hotel and a dame will come in, tear her clothes off, scratch her face and scream, and you try and talk yourself out of that one. They won't touch your book but there's easier ways."[19]

Before as well as after the publication of his novel in 1939, Steinbeck was alert to the dangers posed by the Associated Farmers and other powerful agricultural groups. Having anticipated attacks on *The Grapes of Wrath*, he had painstakingly investigated and documented the migrants' conditions prior to the book's publication. He also took precautions to avoid personal danger at his Los Gatos ranch and on his infrequent travels during this difficult period. No doubt for these reasons he declined to become involved in the Kern County controversy.

On Monday, August 28, hours before the Kern County Board of Supervisors convened to reconsider the banning of *The Grapes of Wrath*, the Bakersfield meeting room was packed. In front of the courthouse meeting room, members of the Workers Alliance of unemployed people carried banners urging that the ban on the book be lifted. In the absence of Chairman Woolomes, Supervisor Abel presided over the meeting, proving himself a patient chairperson. Listening to heated criticism of his and his fellow supervisors' actions, he nevertheless maintained "an interested grin (which) was never long absent from his round, rubicund face."

Discussion that morning moved in ever wider circles from whether *The Grapes of Wrath* was an obscene book and whether county supervisors should dictate the morals of library patrons to topics such as the hospitalization of indigents and the production of ham and eggs for the market. Overall, the morning's proceeding emerged as a free-for-all accompanied by much applause and laughter in support of the many speakers.[20]

The keynote speaker for the individuals and groups opposing the ban was R.W. Henderson of the American Civil Liberties Union, who protested book censorship on the grounds that it could lead to partisan coloration of a library's contents. Summing up, he declared that it was the action of the supervisors and not *The Grapes of Wrath* that was giving Kern County unfavorable publicity. Also speaking for the ACLU, Reverend Edgar J. Evans said he could not uphold everything in the book, but considered it one of the most stirring novels he had read in a long time.

Next to take the floor, Supervisor Abel argued that the book was filthy, a point which he stressed throughout the morning's proceedings. Weltha Smithson, self-professed grandmother, disagreed with the supervisor and doubted if "cussin" was really foreign to the ears of anyone present. Ralph Abel, brother of the presiding Supervisor Abel, repeatedly badgered his brother and insisted that he had acted on behalf of the Associated Farmers who had instigated the action. The allegation was just as strongly denied by Stanley Abel and by C.W. Harty, whose possible swing vote would finally determine the fate of the ban.

Following the registration of a formal protest to the ordinance by Howard Geiger of the Oilworkers Union, Supervisor Lavin asked Bertha Rankin, a local farmer from Arvin, if she thought the language Steinbeck placed in the mouths of the novel's Joad family and other Oakies was "what they were educated to." "I do," she replied. Rankin went on to claim that events pictured in the book could well have happened. She then detailed incidents in which workers were shot and maimed in the San Joaquin Valley cotton strike of 1933.

After a two-hour recess for lunch, the supervisors reconvened for the afternoon session of the long meeting. The boardroom was just as crowded as it had been in the morning, with several babies and small children crying. The temper of the crowd, however, had changed completely, and though there were still occasional outbursts of laughter, there was little applause. Workers Alliance speakers presented quantities of material showing that the Associated Farmers had repeatedly acted against the interests of agricultural workers. In addition, the speakers claimed that the president of the Associated Farmers, W.B. Camp, was aligned with the State Chamber of Commerce, which was known for its opposition to allowing migrants, whom they labeled a very "low class," to enter the state.

Finally worn down by veiled and open charges that the Associated Farmers had been responsible for authoring and pressuring the board into passing the book ban, Supervisor Abel was badgered into naming E. Gay Hoffman, secretary of the local Chamber of Commerce, as the author of the resolution. Dropping the morality issue for the moment, Abel claimed that he indeed wanted people to read the book but not through the Kern County Free Library. He continued somewhat incredibly that he in fact was trying to bring national attention to the migrant workers in hopes of improving their lot.

Supervisor Harty, who had been visibly nervous throughout the afternoon session, was still convinced that the book was obscene and rose to read a prepared statement to that effect. He lost his temper midway, however, and accused Supervisor Lavin who had opposed the ban, of using it for his own ends and for furthering a proposed recall move against Harty. Lavin angrily replied that he knew no more about the recall proposal than Harty and that "he was too damn busy" in the third district to know what was happening anywhere else. Harty then challenged Lavin to read aloud certain marked portions "to prove the book was lewd." Nick Podovinnickoff, secretary of the Workers Alliance, protested that no fair test of the book's merit could be obtained unless the entire book was read. Reverend Evans questioned that it was not the language that was objectionable but that it was "the exposure of a sociological condition."

After everyone had spoken, Supervisor Wimmer, who had originally voted for the resolution, moved that the ban be lifted, and Supervisor Lavin seconded the motion. When the vote to rescind the ban was polled, the room was as quiet as a tomb—until Supervisor Harty's resounding "No" resulted in the continuation of the ban. Accordingly, county librar-

The Grapes of Wrath *was officially banned from Kern County libraries and schools until January 27, 1941.*

ian Gretchen Schenk was "given orders to withdraw the book from circulation pending further orders. These 'further' orders," she wrote the state librarian, "may be a long time in coming."

Throughout the duration of the supervisors' ban, Mrs. Schenk continued to take a strong stand in opposition to the censure. She distributed the county's sixty copies of *The Grapes of Wrath* to other libraries around the state and kept up an active correspondence about the issue. One letter she received from the Santa Cruz public librarian suggested that the issue was not just one concerning Kern County. "I have been slow in acknowledging the three copies of *The Grapes of Wrath* you sent me," wrote the Santa Cruz librarian.

> Oh, how we appreciate them! We never discuss the book in the library—we have all learned to be very tactful! We still have 140 reservations, and that brings us to July 15, 1940. What a time we have had—today I look back upon that experience as a horrible dream! It has been my worst experience in all these years—a trustee who was a minister was the loudest shouter![21]

Gretchen Schenk's "further" orders regarding *The Grapes of Wrath* were indeed a long time coming. The book was officially banned from Kern County libraries and schools until January 27, 1941, on which day Mrs. Schenk received a letter informing her that the Board of Supervisors had adopted an order, presented by Supervisor Ralph Lavin, requesting that she "replace on the shelves of the Kern County Library John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*." Members of the local American Civil Liberties Union and Friends of the Library were elated by the results of the vote, one of the first actions of the newly seated county board. The belated lifting of the ban represented a victory for those who had supported the new supervisors in the 1940 election.

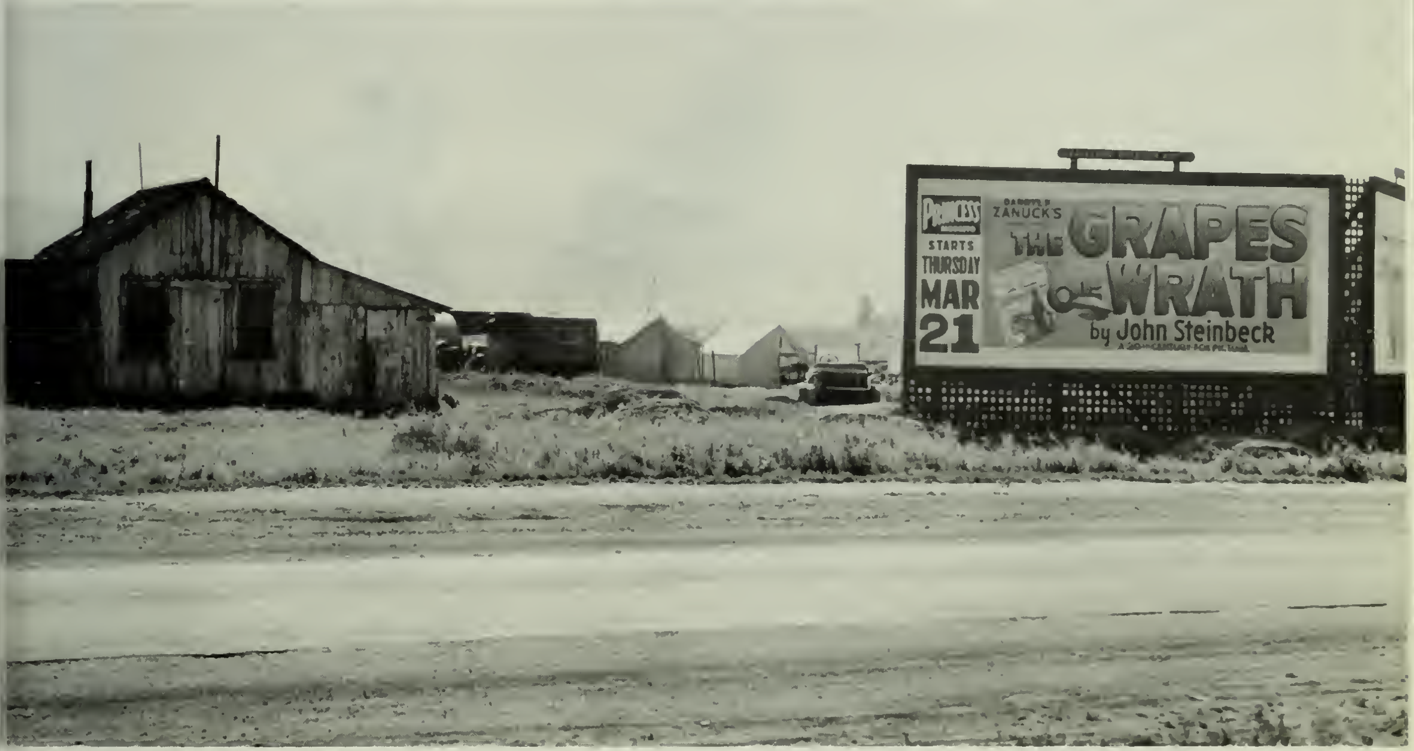
Reflecting back upon the reasons for the book banning, Mrs. Schenk later suggested,

> Though the Civil Liberties Union opposed the ban on the morning of the hearing as an infringement of the right to read, and though Supervisor Abel stressed the immorality of the book in the afternoon, the true reason for the ban was economic. The power structure of the county took offense at Steinbeck's picture of the migratory workers' living conditions.[22]

Throughout the 1930s, hundreds of thousands of dust bowl refugees poured into California each year. Steinbeck's exposure of the social dislocation created by the structure of the nation's agricultural system raised what was viewed as a serious threat of reform. As a result, it was not the frank words and scenes in the novel that mobilized the Associated Farmers into a statewide campaign to suppress the book. The association, according to its executive secretary, "was not organized for any purpose except to defeat the unionization of farms and to stop the agitation of radical organizers. . . ."[23] In the minds of some members, Steinbeck was a muck-raking radical whose powerful portrayal of migrant living and working conditions threatened to stir the helpless to act and, finally, to transform their fear into wrath.

Notes

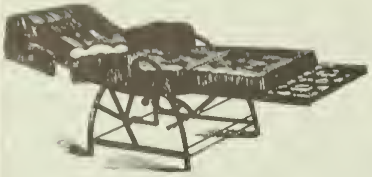
1. John Steinbeck, "The Harvest Gypsies," *San Francisco News*, October 7, 1936, reprinted in *Their Blood Is Strong* (Simon J. Lubin Society, 1938).
2. John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (New York: Viking Press 1939), p. 477.
3. Peter Lisca, *The Wide World of John Steinbeck* (Rutgers University Press, New Jersey, 1958).
4. *Bakersfield Californian*, August 22, 1939.

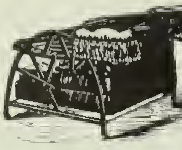


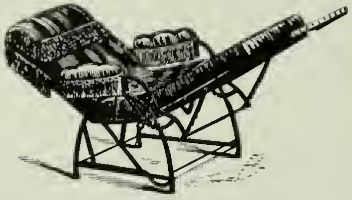
By 1940, the Hollywood version of Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath *was playing across California and in Central Valley towns.*
Dorothea Lange, Oakland Museum

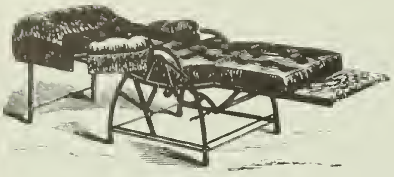
5. Clark A. Chambers, *California Farm Organizations: A Historical Study of the Grange, The Farm Bureau, and the Associated Farmers, 1929-1941* (Berkeley, 1952), p. 41.
6. Chambers, *California Farm Organizations*, pp. 71-72.
7. Steinbeck, *Their Blood Is Strong*, p. 31.
8. Gretchen Knief Schenk to California State Librarian Mabel R. Gillis, August 29, 1939, Bakersfield County Archives.
9. Gretchen Schenk to C.W. Harty, Stanley Abel, Charles Wimmer, and W.R. Woolomes, August 21, 1939.
10. R.W. Henderson, *Stop Censorship*, August 27, 1939, a radio address given by Henderson over station KERN.
11. *Fresno Bee*, August 23, 1939.
12. *Selma Irrigator*, August 24, 1939.
13. *Dinuba Sentinel*, August 24, 1939.
14. *Bakersfield Californian*, August 24, 1939.
15. *Kern Herald*, August 31, 1939.
16. *Bakersfield Californian*, August 24, 1939.
17. *Fresno Bee*, August 23, 1939.
18. Elaine Steinbeck and Robert Wallsten, editors, *Steinbeck—A Life in Letters* (New York: Viking Press, 1957), p. 187.
19. Steinbeck and Wallsten, *Steinbeck—A Life in Letters*, p. 187, letter to Chase Horton in Editors' insert.
20. "Supervisors Vote Two-to-Two, So Book Ban Stays," *Kern Herald*, August 31, 1939. All descriptions of the board meeting and quotations of the speakers in this section are from this article and Schenk's letter to Mabel R. Gillis, August 29, 1939.
21. Minerva Waterman to Gretchen Schenk, February 5, 1940.
22. Gretchen Schenk to author, January 26, 1979.
23. Walter Goldschmidt, *As You Sow: Three Studies in the Social Consequences of Agribusiness* (Montclair: Allenheld, Osmun & Co., 1978), p. 183.

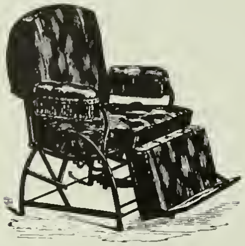
The Acme in Chairs, 1876

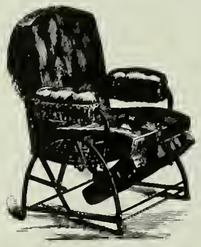

9. BED.

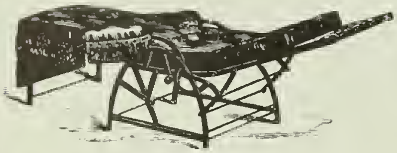

12. SHIPPING.

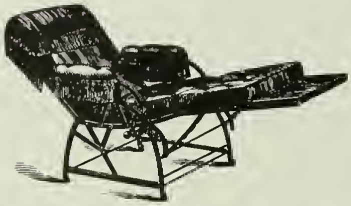

7. HEELS HIGHER THAN HEAD.

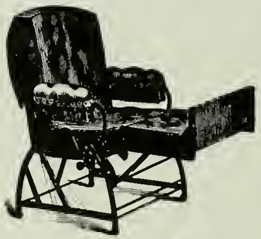

8. LOUNGING POSITION.

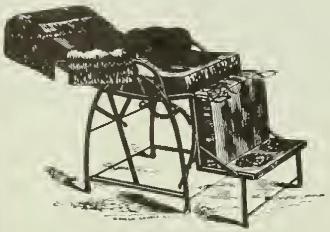

2. EASY CHAIR.

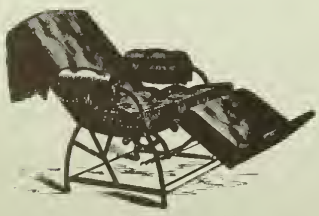

1. PARLOR POSITION.


10. BED WITH SHOULDER REST.


6. LOUNGE.


5. CHILD'S CRIB AND SWING.


11. MEDICAL CHAIR.


4. INVALID POSITION.

The Wilson Adjustable Chair Mf'g Co.,

592 Broadway, New York.

A late writer in a popular scientific journal gives some very plain and convincing statements as to the causes which produce so much of the physical weakness and deformity among our youth, as well as people of mature years; and considers it one of the strangest problems of the nineteenth century, that no parent, teacher or mechanic has given any attention to their remedy. The small of the back is the centre of voluntary motion, and is the weak or strong point of every person. Physiologists tell us that nearly three hundred muscles are directly or indirectly connected with motions of which the small of the back is the pivotal center. Hence, while the strong and the robust may fortunately live in blissful ignorance of spinal weakness or vertebral distortion, invalids are forever complaining of this part of the body.

People of sedentary habits are constantly complaining of the back. We presume there are comparatively few persons who do not know by bitter experience what this means. It is more intolerable than ague or neuralgia, or any other of the ills to which flesh is heir.

The date of the origin of household furniture is pre-historic. As long as kings have had thrones their subjects have had chairs. The remaining monuments of Egypt and Assyria give abundant representations of the conveniences of ancient households in these countries. It is known that the Egyptians had in their houses chairs and couches of the most elaborate designs, made of the best and most costly material, and finished in the most expensive style of ornamentation.

The acme in the improvement of chairs, in point of comfort, health and economy seems to have been reached in the Wilson Adjustable Chair represented on this page.

This Chair is made of the best wrought iron and rivets. The castors are made expressly for it, and very strong. Every thing is arranged on strictly scientific principles. It is susceptible of Thirty Changes of Position, hence its great economy, and value in a hygienic point of view. By reference to the cuts it will be seen that the chair is pivoted to arch that forms the legs. Cut No. 3 represents the four points at which the directions are marked.

A—Braces riveted on each side of the arch, lock the chair firm to the legs; if unlocked at A, the entire chair is suspended at the pivot, and in whatever position will oscillate by the action of two springs, at option of patient, and cannot tip over.

B—At this point is a small knob on a flat bar so secured as to lock both sides of the chair on that half circle, while the back or front is retained at any angle desired by the patient. The back and front of the chair work conjointly, and very simply, the chair locking itself, and remaining as firm as if built to retain that angle.

C represents a ratchet to elevate the front part to any level; while the back may be retained at any angle.

D—Braces to adjust foot board for any position; as a lounge, the foot board locks itself.

We can allude but briefly to a few particulars in regard to the different positions of the chair as represented on this page.

The Parlor Chair.—When in this position the back may be changed to any angle. If left free at A, it forms a Rocking Chair. The Easy Chair is represented with footboard carpeted. The Reading Chair represents a position in which every part of the body is comfortable, with head and shoulders resting on the pillow The Invalid Chair, with adjustable pillow thrown back, will admit of several other positions. No. 5 can be adjusted to any length. No. 6 is a comfortable lounge. It will swing or rest on rod across arch, but cannot tip. No. 7 unlocked at A, exhibits the entire principle of the Chair. In No. 8 the back may be lowered and front dropped to four or five changes. No. 9 represents bed with pillow, and standard dropped from the back to form support. No. 10, a bed with head reversed; can be placed in any room with head to the north, the proper position for sound sleep. No. 11, a medical chair, endorsed by the medical fraternity as being scientifically adapted to all requirements. No. 12 is compactly folded for shipment; frame weighs about 55 pounds; with upholstery, but about 70 pounds. Circular with price list, &c., can be had on application.

from Asher & Adams Pictorial Album of American Industry 1876
(*New York*)

REVIEWS

W. Michael Mathes, *Reviews Editor*

Sources in Mexico for the History of Spanish California

From 1535 to 1821, California formed a part of the far-flung, highly organized, and heavily bureaucratic Spanish Empire. On May 3, 1535, Fernando Cortés took formal possession of the region at Santa Cruz, today La Paz, and thus began the official documentation of its affairs. During the succeeding 286 years, these three pages of legal testimony would grow to fill millions of pages treating every conceivable aspect of the Californias.

Cortés' efforts in establishing a colony at La Paz notwithstanding, the Californias resisted permanent settlement for some 150 years but were irregularly explored by maritime expeditions during that period. Following the establishment of Mission Nuestra Señora de Loreto in 1697, the settlement of the Californias advanced regularly northward for the remainder of the era of Spanish domination.

Prior to settlement, and for some seventy-five years thereafter, the majority of the documentation pertaining to California was formed into files (*expedientes*) and sent to Spain where it was reviewed by the Council of the Indies, the royal advisory council on colonial matters. Thus, much of the material dealing with the region extending from Cabo San Lucas to Oregon is found in the Archivo General de Indias, the repository for the Council, in Sevilla. This documentation has been catalogued by Charles Edward Chapman in *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1919; New York: Kraus Reprint, 1974) and by other historians in the United States, Mexico, and Spain.

Despite this immense amount of documentation in the Archivo General de Indias, as well as in other Spanish archives such as the Archivo Histórico Na-

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cional, Museo Naval, Real Academia de la Historia, and Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, many of the documents relative to the Californias remained in New Spain. These materials of a more local nature either were not deemed necessary for submission to the Council or were retained by local authorities such as the viceroy, *audiencia*, bishop, religious superior, or notary for consultation and incorporation into their respective archives. Despite intervening revolutions, invasions, natural disasters and thefts, many of these documents remain intact in Mexican repositories and are available for consultation by researchers.

By far the largest of these repositories is the Archivo General de la Nación (National General Archive), recently relocated in the completely remodeled ex-penitentiary of Lecumberri in Mexico City. While the archive is so immense that California material is likely to be encountered in virtually any of its *ramos* (sections), those mentioned herein are the richest. Full service is provided by the archive which publishes a *Boletín* frequently incorporating catalogues of the *ramos* or reproducing important documents in its collections. In addition, an ongoing series of catalogues has made available complete information on some seventy of these sections to date.

A brief description of the principal *ramos* and catalogues, if available, follows:

Californias, 89 volumes, 1730-1821. Contains documentation about administrative matters, economics, and the port of San Blas; much material relative to the Pious Fund. (Guías y Catálogos 3. *Ramo Californias*. 2 vols. 1977.)

Provincias Internas, 267 volumes, 1776-1821. Contains documentation relating to all aspects of administration of the Spanish possessions in the present Southwestern United States; government, missions, economics, expeditions, defense. (*Indices del Ramo de Provincias Internas*. 2 vols. 1967, 1974.; Guías y Catálogos 17. *Ramo Provincias Internas*. Indices analíticos. 3 vols. 1977.)

Misiones, 27 volumes, 1616-1820. Contains documentation about the missions of northern Mexico and the Southwestern United States. (Guías y Catálogos 16. *Ramo Misiones*. 1978.)

Historia, 220 volumes, 16th-19th centuries. Contains documents pertaining to major historical occurrences in the Viceroyalty of New Spain, including copies of documents held in Spanish archives. (Guías y Catálogos 28. *Ramo Historia*. 6 vols. to date. 1981.)

Reales Cédulas, 243 volumes, 1609-1821. Royal Orders issued to the Viceroy of New Spain dealing with all matters of administration. (*Indices del Ramo de Reales Cédulas*. 1967. Covers 1609-1675.)

Reales Cédulas Duplicados, 2 *legajos* (bundles), 1583-1699. Copies of Royal Orders issued to the Viceroy of New Spain. (Guías y Catálogos 64. *Reales Cédulas Duplicados*. 1982.)

Correspondencia de Virreyes, 355 volumes, 1755—1821. Contains official communiques of the viceroys of New Spain during the period of Spanish expansion into Alta California and the Pacific Northwest. Many of the letters are in cipher to avoid detection of strategic information. (Guías y Catálogos 56. *Ramo Correspondencia de Virreyes, Marqués de Croix 1766-1781*. 6 vols. 1980.

Clero Regular y Secular, 216 volumes, 16th-19th centuries. Contains documentation relative to religious orders and the diocesan clergy dealing with church administration, hospitals, charitable institutions and individuals. (Guías y Catálogos 22. *Ramo Clero Regular y Secular*. 1978.)

Jesuitas, 105 volumes, 1571-1767. Contains documents related to the Society of Jesus, including annual reports of the Baja California, Sonora, Pimería Alta and Sinaloa missions.

Cárceles y Presidios y Presidios y Cárceles, 31 volumes, 18th century. Contains documentation dealing with penal institutions; miscellaneous documents about the presidios of the Californias have inadvertantly been incorporated. (Guías y Catálogos 37. *Cárceles y Presidios y Presidios y Cárceles*. 1979.

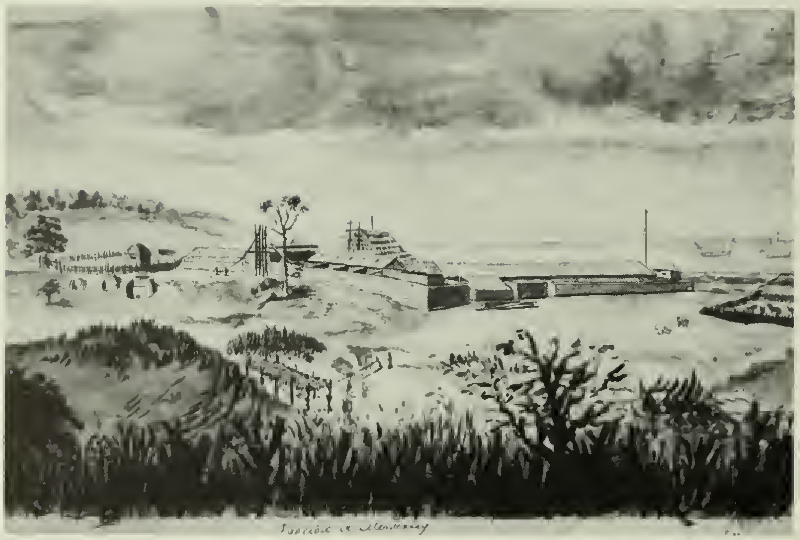
Several other guides and catalogues are helpful in determining the potential of other *ramos* which might contain documentation treating California matters. Pioneering the field was Herbert E. Bolton whose *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico* (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1913; New York: Kraus Reprint, 1965) remains very useful, especially with its analytical index and description of principal documents. Recently, the Archivo General de la Nación has published a physical description of its holdings in *Inventario de Ramos, Guías e Indices, Actualizado al mes de marzo de 1978*, and a two-volume compilation, Guías y Catálogos 49, *Documentos sobre el Noroeste de México* (1980), indexes documents treating the history of the Southwestern United States in the *ramos* Provincias Internas, Historia, Misiones, Californias, Tributos, Inquisición, Jesuitas and Temporalidades.

Thanks to the active microfilming program of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, researchers have available on microfilm the complete *ramos* of Provincias Internas, Historia, Californias, Misiones, Cárceles y Presidios y Presidios y Cárceles, Reales Cédulas, Reales Cédulas Duplicados, and Correspondencia de Virreyes, as well as selected California documents from Jesuitas, Inquisición, Clero Regular y Secular, and the Archivo Histórico de Hacienda.

Also within Mexico City, the Archivo Franciscano of the Biblioteca Nacional is of primary importance for research in early California history. Covering the years 1683-1821, the archive contains much material from the Jesuit period in Baja California including documents by Atondo, Kino, Salvatierra, Píccolo, Ugarte, Venegas and Rodríguez Lorenzo, as well as from the later Franciscan period in both Californias from the *colegios* of San Fernando de México and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas, the administrators of the Alta California missions from 1769 to 1833. A detailed catalogue of the Archivo Franciscano, Ignacio del Río, *Guía del Archivo Franciscano* (México: UNAM, 1975), facilitates research; many documents are also available in The Bancroft Library. Also important for the Franciscan mission period is the Colección Lancaster-Jones of the Museo Nacional (INAH) which contains documents from the Colegio de San Fernando de México, 1767-1800; however, no catalogue is currently available.

Outside the capital city, in La Paz, Baja California Sur, the recently created Archivo Histórico de Baja California Sur "Pablo L. Martínez" contains extensive documentation about Baja and Alta California. Ramo I, La Colonia 1744-1821, has been fully catalogued by Lic. José Andrés Cota Sandoval (La Paz: Gobierno del Territorio de Baja California, 1974) and contains such items as presidial muster rolls; correspondence of governors Neve, Borica, and Arrillaga; land grants; inventories; economic reports; supply ship movements; mail service; and census records. Further cataloguing appears in the *Boletín* of the archive, and microfilm covering the period 1744-1900 is available for consultation in The Bancroft Library.

Often overlooked by researchers are the archival holdings in the city of Guadalajara, Jalisco. Seat of the



Established in 1770, the presidio or frontier military fortification at Monterey protected the strategic outpost of the far-flung Spanish empire.
California Historical Society, San Francisco

judicial district (*audiencia*) to which California pertained from 1548 to 1821 and of the diocese which administered ecclesiastical matters in the region during the same period, Guadalajara holds substantial documentation about early settlers of the Californias.

The Archivo de Instrumentos Públicos, formed from the archives of the Audiencia de Guadalajara, is diverse in its holdings. Ramo Gobierno de la Audiencia de Nueva Galicia, 80 volumes, 1670-1751, is a collection of all licenses and appointments to civil and ecclesiastical offices within the jurisdiction, including Baja California. Ramo Tierras y Aguas, 400 volumes, 1676-1830, contains documents relative to the possession, sale and transfer of land (many of the persons mentioned settled in California or were involved in its early development).

The third *ramo*, Notarías, is perhaps the most difficult to research, but the most fascinating and surprising. Comprising hundreds of volumes dating from 1590, Notarías contains the registries of notaries (*protocolos*), shelved alphabetically by name, which hold the original certified wills, contracts, mortgages, loans, promissory notes, powers of attorney, and other legal documents drawn up by the residents of Guadalajara and its outskirts before their attorneys (*notarios*), many of whom were early figures in the exploration and growth of the Californias.

The remainder of the archives of the Audiencia de Guadalajara are found in the Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Jalisco, administered by the Universidad de Guadalajara. Of importance for California history are the *ramos* Judicial, containing 4,000 *legajos* of documents relating to law suits and administration from 1567 to 1817; Fiscal, containing 1,705 volumes dating from the 16th to the 19th centuries with tax and customs documents; and Juzgado General de Bienes de Difuntos, with 144 *legajos* of probate documents dating from 1550 to 1821. A published inventory of the latter *ramo*, *Extractos del Juzgado General de Bienes de Difuntos de la Nueva Galicia Siglos XVI y XVII* by M. Claudio Jiménez y Vizcarra (Guadalajara: INAH, 1980) is available, and the other *ramos* have typescript inventories soon to appear in print. Of general use to the researcher is Carmen Castañeda García's *Guía de los Archivos Históricos de Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: Gobierno del Estado, 1979) which describes the holdings of each archive and its services.

Many other Mexican archives contain such valuable records as birth, marriage and death registers, wills, and land grants, pertinent to the early settlers in the Californias, There remain to be discovered, however, many important manuscripts relative to the early history of California which will come to light only through continued research.

Book Reviews

The Plains and the Rockies: A Bibliography of Narratives of Exploration, Travel and Adventure, 1800–1865.

By Robert H. Becker. (San Francisco: John Howell–Books, 1982. 745 pp. $150.00.)

Reviewed by Ferol Egan, *author of* Frémont: Explorer for a Restless Nation *and* The El Dorado Trail: The Story of the Gold Rush Routes Across Mexico.

This Fourth Edition of Henry R. Wagner's and Charles L. Camp's *The Plains and the Rockies* has been worth the long wait. Before his death in 1975 Charles Camp had been working on this needed revision of the book first published in 1953, but he never had the opportunity to complete it. Users of the previous editions will find that Becker has more than done his homework in revising this master bibliography of Western Americana. He has managed to elevate this bibliographic classic to new heights.

Part of the success of this Fourth Edition comes about through Becker's years as a librarian and assistant director of The Bancroft Library. But another reason—which Becker states—was ". . . our good fortune that our additional research took place at the same time as the completion of the National Union Catalog of pre-1956 imprints." These facts plus Becker's hard work have resulted in more than another revision of this classic, for the book in hand is a superb bibliographic treatment of each known issue and edition of the publications cited. In addition, Becker had the patience and endurance to locate every bit of information available for the individual entries. Hence, each title is listed along with line-by-line transcriptions of pages and maps, full collations, footnotes containing references to present versions of various works (limited by the size of the book), locations of various copies of items cited, and a full index of authors, titles, and subjects.

While this is not a book for an evening of reading, it is a vital reference work for every library that maintains a collection of Western Americana; an important resource for rare book dealers; and an invaluable tool for scholars who work the rich history of the American West. If a scholar finds something missing, something he thinks should be included, he need remember that there had to be a limit to the size of this book, and such a limit had to be determined by the author. As it stands, though, Robert Becker is to be congratulated for giving us a remarkable reference book. And, certainly, Warren Howell is to be thanked for his belief that this Fourth Edition of *The Plains and the Rockies* should be published to carry forth the long vision of Wagner and Camp.

Empires in the Sun: The Rise of the New American West.

By Peter Wiley and Robert Gottlieb. (New York: Putnam, 1982. 332 pages. $15.95.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, *author of* All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools 1855-1975 *(University of California Press, 1975), and teacher of history at Laney and Vista Colleges, Oakland and Berkeley.*

This is a book written in the tradition of the late historian and social critic Carey McWilliams. Wiley and Gottlieb are California journalists and, like McWilliams, analyze the Southwest's political economy from a reformist, even muckraking point of view. Also like McWilliams, they understand that contemporary analysis is impossible without historical perspective; thus *Empires in the Sun* includes a good deal of informative history.

The book's central argument is that there is an important regional power shift occurring in the United States and that the "new American West" is a net gainer in economic and political influence. The region is defined as stretching roughly from Southern California to the Rockies, including most of what is traditionally regarded as the Southwest, except, inexplicably, New Mexico. The authors are concerned less with precise political boundaries than with the hinterlands of the area's major cities: Los Angeles, Denver, Phoenix, Salt Lake City and Las Vegas. The book defines California as the region's "economic and geopolitical headquarters" and portrays Los Angeles as the ultimate Sun Belt metropolis which has successfully challenged the supremacy of older East Coast financial centers. San Francisco is technically outside the region of study, but the authors include it in their analysis because of its role as a corporate headquarters city for the West and Pacific Basin.

The book's broad regional approach has both strengths and weaknesses. The area studied by Wiley and Gottlieb

Cities of the West like Los Angeles, the "ultimate Sun Belt metropolis," have successfully challenged the supremacy of older East Coast financial centers.
California Historical Society, San Francisco

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has many common characteristics including severe environmental problems, an arid climate, a massive population boom, and very rapid development of resources, agribusiness, and high-technology industries. But there are also great differences between Los Angeles and Salt Lake City or Denver and Las Vegas, and most other southwesterners believe they have little in common with California. Indeed, a good case can be made for defining the Golden State as a region unto itself and one that dominates and exploits the rest of the Southwest in much the same manner as the East Coast did in the past.

Nevertheless, Wiley and Gottlieb persuasively argue that common bonds exist between the area's movers and shakers, a remarkable collection of entrepreneurs, corporate executives, agribusinessmen, land developers, Mormon elders, and mobsters. Key politicians and bureaucrats are also important, for the region has profited greatly from massive federal subsidies for water, energy, and defense projects.

The authors' sympathies clearly lie with those who oppose the general direction of recent southwestern development. (Gottlieb is the only member of the Los Angeles Metropolitan Water District board to campaign against the Peripheral Canal.) The book fully explores the arguments of environmentalists, small farmers, political reformers, "traditional" Indians, and Chicano activists, the spokesmen for the victims of the "new American West's" economic boom.

For historians the book's major strength is its use of the past as a context for contemporary analysis. As with any "present-minded" historical interpretation, coverage is sometimes incomplete, but it clearly demonstrates the link between past and present that is so often ignored in the Southwest. Even the region's historians have been guilty of treating the past as if it had no connection to contemporary events, a mistake Wiley and Gottlieb have happily avoided.

Empires in the Sun will inform and stimulate even those who disagree with its conclusions. The book offers an implicit challenge to professional historians, for it reveals the great need for systematic study of recent southwestern history.

California Check List

By Bruce L. Johnson,
Library Director

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price.

Cardoso, Lawrence A. *Mexican Emigration to the United States, 1897-1931: Socio-Economic Patterns*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press 1980. Order from: Univ. of Arizona Press, Post Office Box 3398, Tucson, AZ 85722.

Lawrence Cardoso's study of Mexican emigration, which is grounded heavily in Mexican and American archival sources, offers the best discussion yet available of the factors behind Mexican emigration and the American response to the arrival of unprecedented numbers of Mexican immigrants. As reviewer Abraham Hoffman notes, "Cardoso explores the views of American and Mexican government officials, from secretaries of state to consuls, and his mining of Mexican archives also yields a considerable amount of fresh material that fulfills his goal of studying the concerns of individual people as well as their leaders. . . . Cardoso focuses on *emigration* rather than *immigration*, and much of this book's value lies in its offering a fresh analysis, based on Mexican sources, of the root causes of Mexican emigration during the Porfirian and Revolutionary periods. The economic, social,and political consequences of this emigration on both sides of the border are thoroughly discussed."

Erisman, Fred and Richard W. Etulain (eds.) *Fifty Western Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982. $45.00. Order from: Greenwood Press, 88 Post Road West, Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881.

Fifty Western Writers is a reference guide to representative figures in Western American literature. Designed with the beginning researcher as well as the literary specialist in mind, this volume provides biographical sketches of writers closely associated with the American West, including Bret Harte, Robinson Jeffers, Jack London, Joaquin Miller, Wallace Stegner, John Steinbeck, and George R. Stewart. The essays detail the lives and literary development of these and forty-three other significant authors, and go on to survey the most significant scholarly treatments of each person's work. Citations to other notable scholarship and bibliographical information on the author's work follow each chapter, opening avenues for further study. *Fifty Western Authors* is modeled after earlier research guides, such as *Fifteen Modern American Authors* (1969), but is among the first to deal specifically with Western American literature.

Harlow, Neal. *California Conquered: War and Peace on the Pacific, 1846-1850*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. $19.95; $25.00 after 31 December 1982. Order from: University of California Press, 2223 Fulton Street, Berkeley, CA 94720.

The conquest of California by the United States was probably inevitable, given the unbridled energy of a young nation and the allure of an open continent stretching to the Pacific. The battle for California differed both in scale and character from the war in central Mexico: it involved fewer people and was fought on a more intimate level. And the Californians, being ambivalent in their relations with Mexico, quarrelsome among themselves, and always hospitable to foreigners—though ferocious fighters when conditions warranted—were the victims of their own irresolution. In this captivating book, Neal Harlow proves once again that men, issues, and events can be interesting in their own right, without exaggeration.

Holmes, Kenneth L. (ed. and comp.) *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries & Letters from the Western Trails, 1840-1890*. Volume I: 1840-1849. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1983. $25.00. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Co., Post Office Box 230, Glendale, CA 91209.

Starkly revealing, richly informative, profoundly touching, the diaries and letters of women braving the western trails during the great nineteenth-century westward migration are treasured documents too long neglected in the study of the American West. The documents included in this new series will provide a cornerstone for the study and enjoyment of overland journals in this genre. Kenneth Holmes has researched and collected materials for many years, discovering remarkable unpublished accounts in the most unlikely places. Those that had found prior publication were too often in editions of less than 100 copies, mimeographed or typescript, now yellowing and crumbling, or in historical journals long unavailable or little-known. The first of a projected series of ten volumes, (two volumes to be issued per year beginning January 1983), volume 1 (1840-1849) will include an historical introduction summarizing the overland migration, its setting and nature, as well as an introduction to the series. Each volume will contain between ten and twenty documents, transcribed as written without internal editing, introduced and footnoted by the editor. The final volume of the series will contain a cumulative bibliography of primary and secondary sources, and an analytical index to the entire series. Subscriptions to the series are now being accepted.

Jackson, Joseph Henry. *Anybody's Gold: The Story of California's Mining Towns.* San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1982. $7.95 (paper). Order from: Chronicle Books, 870 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102.

Anybody's Gold, by the noted historian Joseph Henry Jackson, is a rip-snorting history of the California Gold Rush. Many critics consider the book to be the definitive early work on that most colorful decade of California history. As noted by historian and author Wallace Stegner in his foreword, ". . . if I were making a visit to the Mother Lode tomorrow, this is the book I would reach for first, and be most sure I took along, and consult most often." Out of print for too many years, Chronicle Books has now made available a new paperbound edition that includes the splendid lithograph illustrations that appeared in the original cloth-bound edition.

Lennon, Nigey. *Mark Twain in California: The Turbulent California Years of Samuel Clemens.* San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1982. $5.95 (paper). Order from: Chronicle Books, 870 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102.

Using newly available material from the Mark Twain Papers at the University of California's Bancroft Library and other Twain repositories, biographer Lennon presents a lively and informative account of Twain's somewhat obscure but seminal years in California. The painful transition from itinerant newspaper reporter to successful author and lecturer is chronicled with style and humor.

Light, Ken, Roger Minick, and Reesa Tansey. *In the Fields.* Oakland: Harvest Press, 1982. $12.95 (paper); special edition $125 (includes hard-cover book and three photographs). Order from: Harvest Press, Post Office Box 3162, Oakland, CA 94609.

In the Fields is a compelling book of photographs depicting the lives of contemporary farm laborers in America. Created by photographers Ken Light, Roger Minick, and Reesa Tansey, this collection of photographs looks at life in the fields from California and the West, to Ohio and the Eastern seaboard, to the South and Midwest. Accompanying the photographs is a 7,000-word essay written by labor economist Paul Schuster Taylor and journalist Anne Loftis, which traces the history of American agricultural labor from its beginnings. Interspersed with the text are photographs Professor Taylor made of farmworkers during his initial field surveys of the 1920s. *In the Fields* is a photographic documentary that examines the conditions found in American agriculture today: undocumented workers of the strawberry and tomato harvests, young children working in the onion fields, members of small agricultural cooperatives bettering their lives through land management and ownership.

Nickerson, Roy. *Robert Louis Stevenson in California: A Remarkable Courtship.* San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1982. $5.95 (paper). Order from: Chronicle Books, 870 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102.

An unknown and ailing Robert Louis Stevenson came to California in 1879 pursuing a seemingly hopeless love affair with a married woman. The clandestine courtship centered in the tiny adobe village of Monterey, where the roughness of frontier life and the dramatic beauty of the coastal headlands had a profound impact on Stevenson's later writings. Biographer Nickerson uses the young Scot's journals and letters to reconstruct Stevenson's California sojourn through the tempestuous Monterey courtship, an eventual marriage in San Francisco, and an extended idyllic honeymoon in the Silverado district of the California wine country. An unusual collection of historic photographs of Stevenson and his California associates illustrates the work.

Wallace, David Rains. *The Klamath Knot.* San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1983. $12.95. Order from: Sierra Club Books, 2034 Fillmore Street, San Francisco, CA 94115.

Rivers that run backwards; rock formations that confound geologists; plants that grow where they don't belong; reports of huge humanoids. The Klamath Mountains of northwestern California and southwestern Oregon are a jumble of rugged peaks carved by sinuous rivers and an evolutionary mystery that has long puzzled and fascinated scientists. Author David Wallace attempts to unravel what geologists and botanists call the Klamath "knot." "There is evidently more to wilderness than meets the eye," Wallace writes. "More than water, timber, minerals, the materials of physical existence [are here]. Somehow there are *mental* trees, streams, and rocks: an imaginative world of origins and meanings—what one might call a mythology." Out of this awareness comes the fertile idea that the theory of evolution is itself a mythology—*the* mythology—

for our time. And, lurking in the shadows of the Klamaths—and Wallace's narrative—is Bigfoot, legendary denizen of these remote woods. Readers will find here a work of technical brilliance, intellectual excitement, and enduring beauty.

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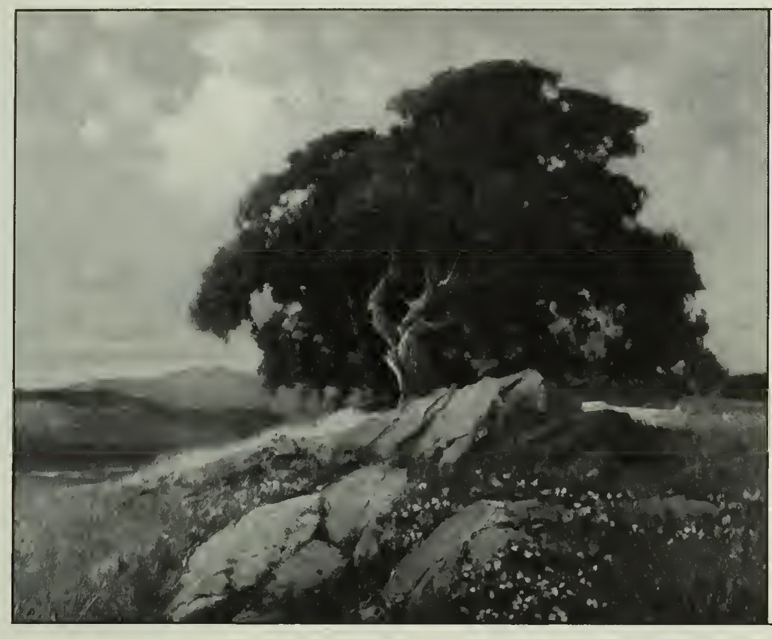

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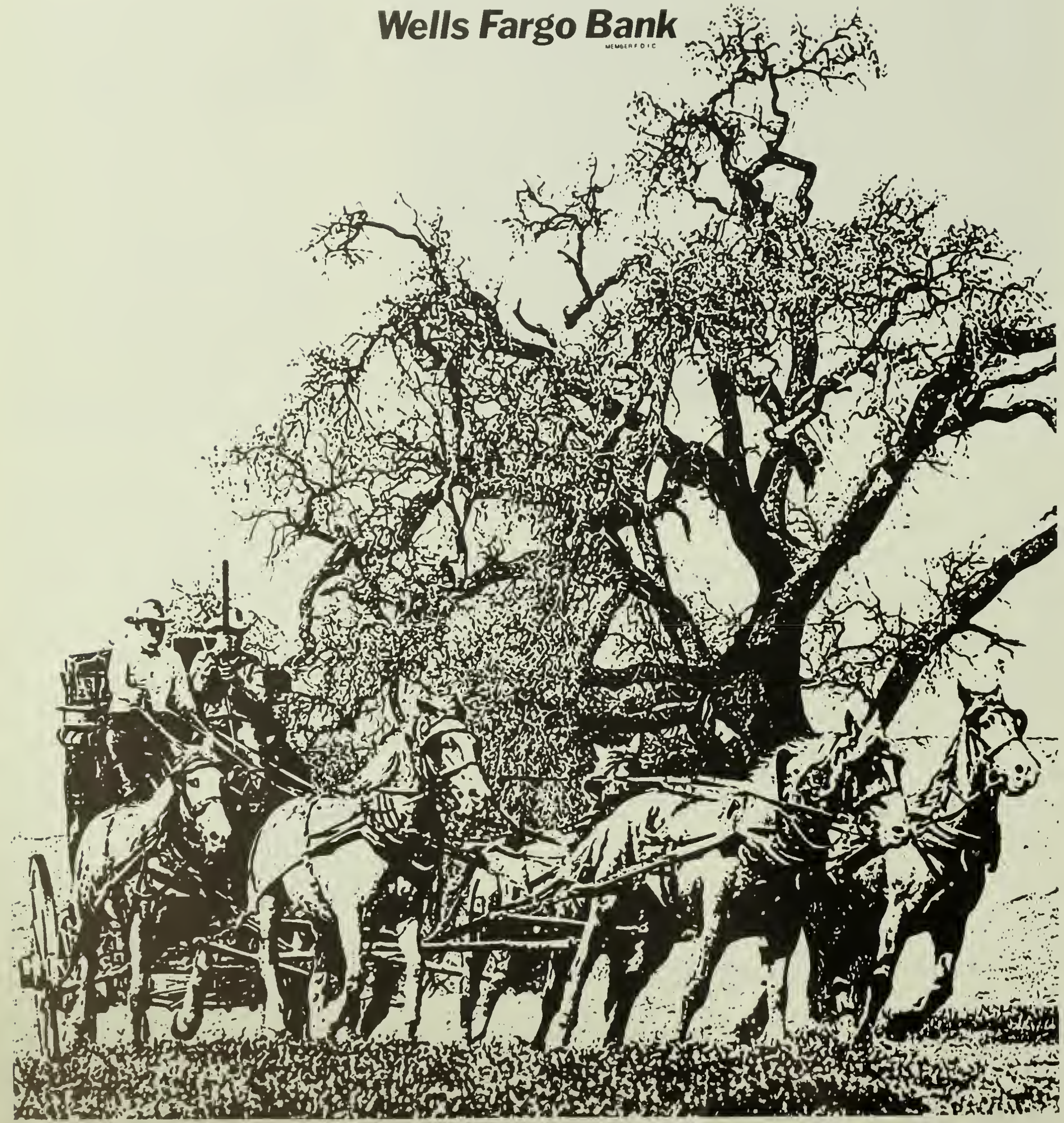

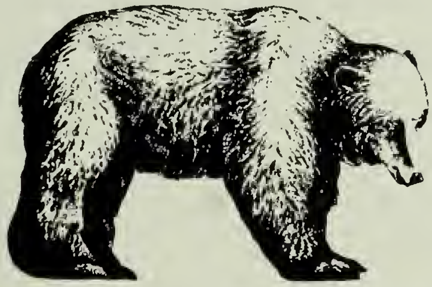

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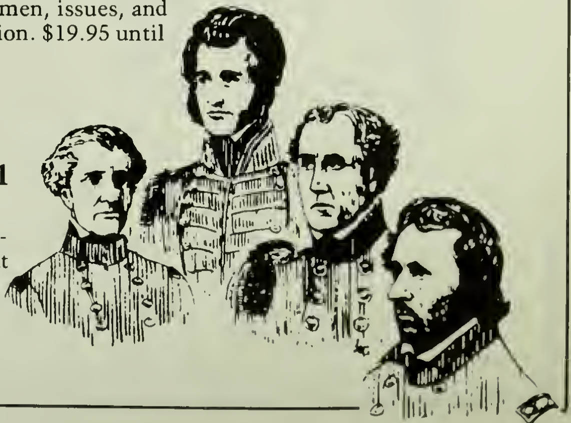

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LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897
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Publication number 084180

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California History

The Magazine of the California Historical Society

winter 1983

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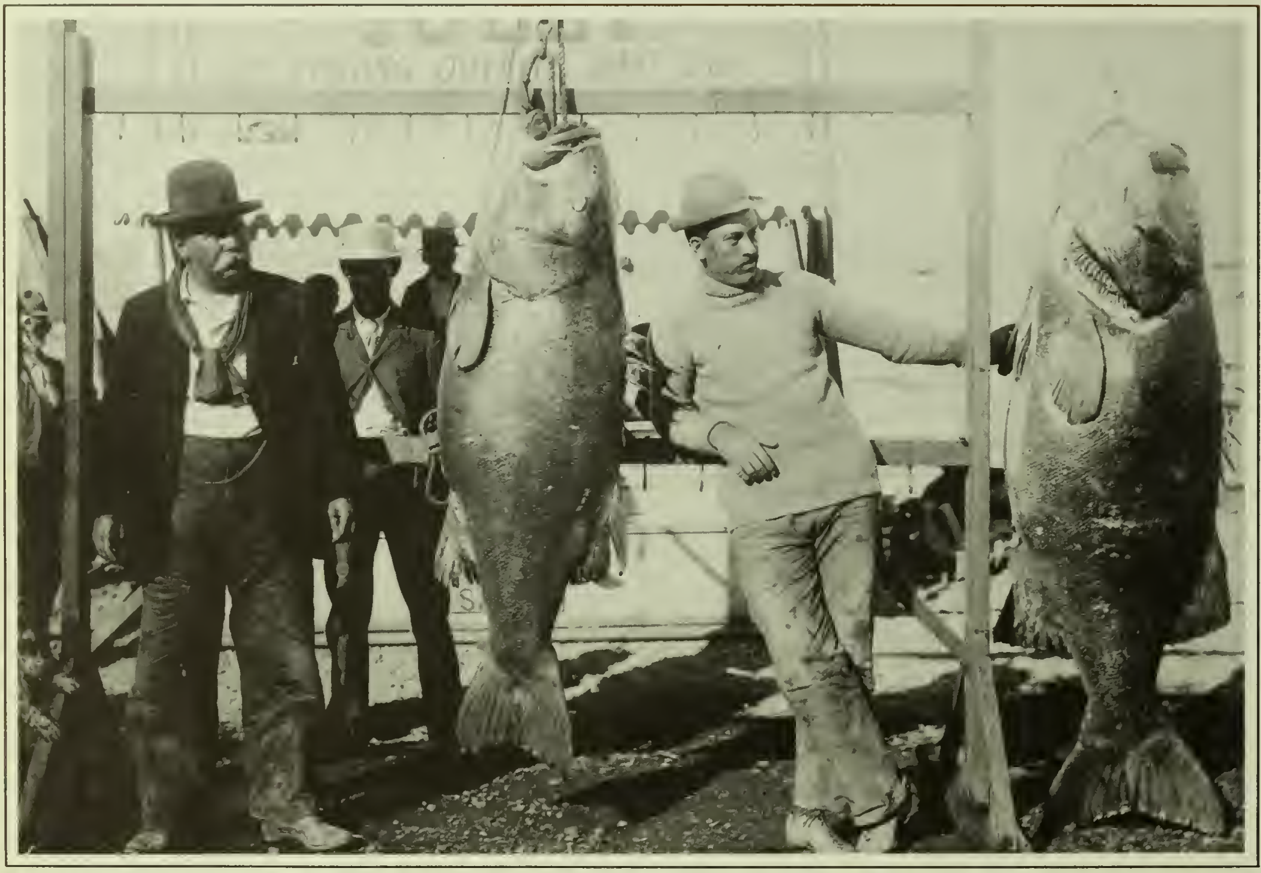

Weary but pleased with the day's catch of black sea bass off Santa Catalina Island, these turn-of-the-century anglers, one with thin stogie in hand, pose for a seaside camera catering to the fishing trade.
California Historical Society, San Francisco

COVER: In Carleton Watkins' early morning view of the barnyard at Lakeside Ranch near Bakersfield, prosperity and order reign. The mowers are moving out, crews are bringing hay to the barn, and two foremen pause before departing for their field tasks. In the center of the carefully arranged composition, in front of the roofed artesian well, stand two authoritative ranch managers. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

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PUBLISHED SINCE 1922

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Richard Steven Street

Photographs of rural nineteenth-century California are often deceptive, resurrecting order and beauty from a context that knew only muscle and sweat. This is especially true of the monumental, static views of wheatfields dotted with huge harvest machines and proud, strategically placed workers. Occasionally, however, a unique image comes to light—a photograph that stimulates the mind and cuts through the artful camouflage of historical memory. One such image was made by photographer Carleton E. Watkins on the flat, hot plains near Bakersfield, California, in 1888. Essentially a group portrait framed by heavy, black machinery and obscuring dust, it is a haunting record of nineteenth-century men engaged in the exhausting, dangerous work of farming.[1]

That such an untraditional photograph exists is itself a revelation; that it was made by famed California landscape photographer Carleton Watkins is even more astounding. Part of a larger body of rural photographs, the image reveals a phase of Watkins' career and a dimension of his photography that has previously been only dimly perceived. It shows that Watkins—though appreciated for his views of Yosemite Valley, Oregon, and the Sierra Nevada—was more than a prospector of fine landscapes. He was also a working commercial photographer whose territory was the entire American West. During the summer of 1888, toward the end of his long photographic career, he made 726 views documenting the Bakersfield region of Kern County just as the area was being opened and intensely promoted for settlement and development. Totally unlike any other photographs of California made at this time, these arresting images are unique historical documents that evoke the texture of rural life almost a century ago. As well, they reveal a little known facet of the aging Watkins' photographic practices.[2]

Almost nothing has been written about Watkins' Kern County photography, mainly because few of his records and correspondence have survived. Nor are the standard historical sources—reminiscences, newspapers, local records—of much help in piecing together this shadowy period of Watkins' life. Hence, this significant episode must be reconstructed from a few bare facts and the images themselves, most of them recently discovered in Kern County archives.[3]

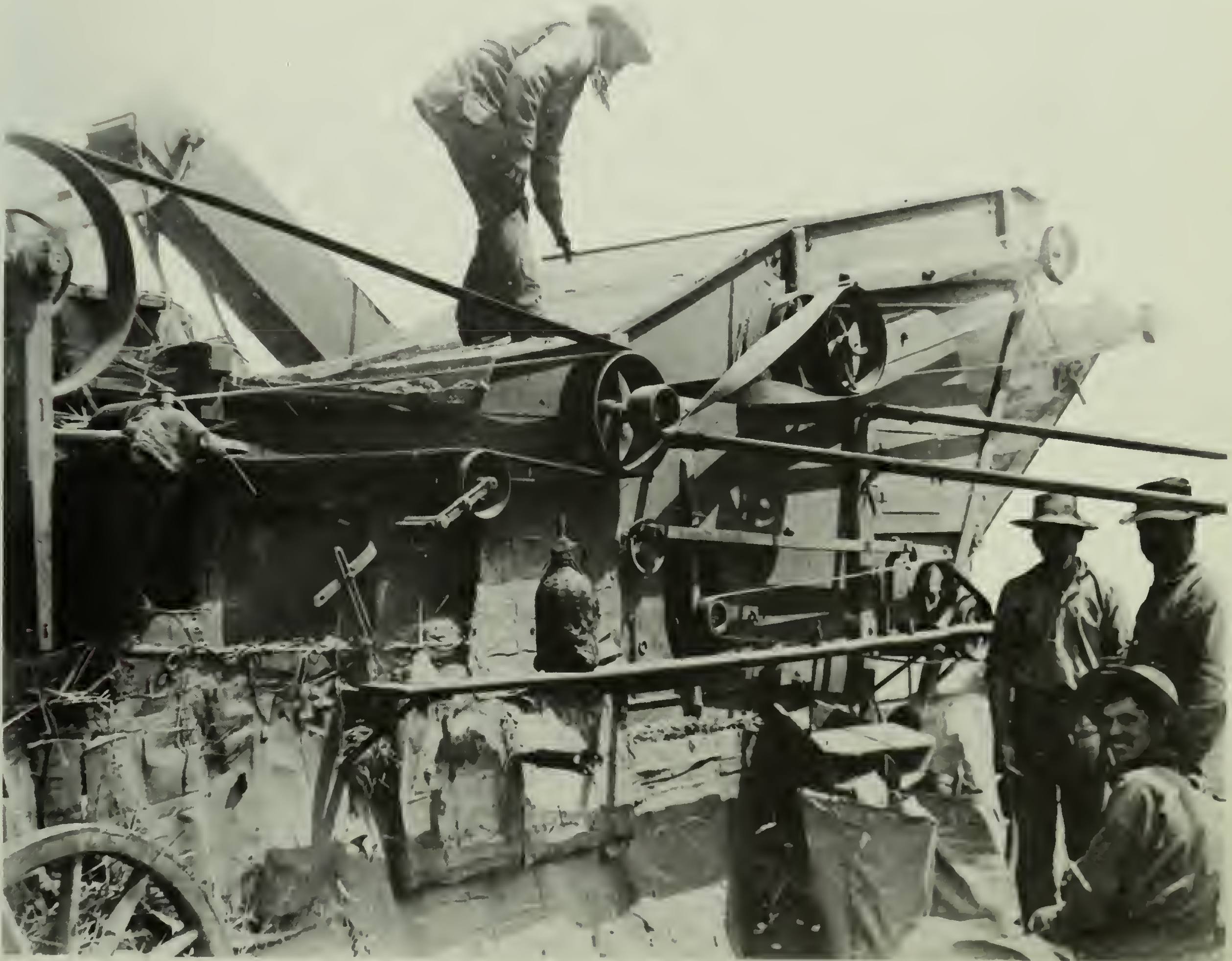
Watkins' friendship with millionaire James B. Haggin appears to hold the key to the photographer's sojourn in Kern County. The two men had become acquainted in 1873 while members of the San Francisco Art Association, and Haggin had subsequently employed Watkins to photograph enterprises in which Haggin was involved such as the Anaconda Copper Mine in Montana and the Comstock Mine in Nevada. This arrangement eventually brought Watkins to Kern County during January 1881, when he photographed Haggin's Kern River dam and irrigation works. In March 1881, Watkins presented the results of this assignment—eight mammoth albumen prints measuring 14 × 21 inches—along with testimony in *Lux vs. Haggin*, one of California's most important suits over water rights.[4]

In the summer of 1888, as Haggin formulated plans to promote and sell vast tracts of farm land southwest of Bakersfield, he once again called upon the photographic talents of his old friend. This time, however, he was uninterested in obtaining fine "art" views to grace his walls or assist in his litigations. Rather, Haggin wanted images that would draw people to

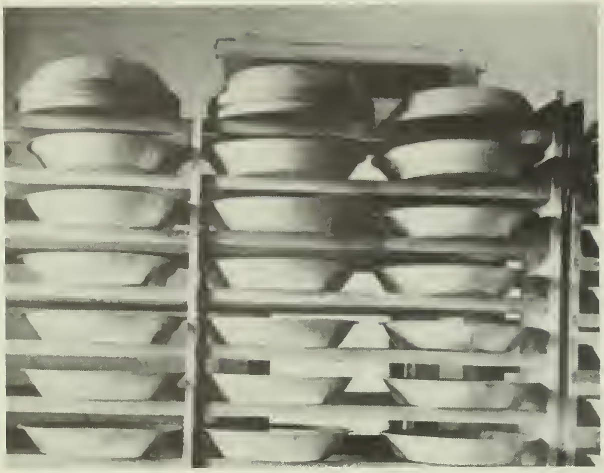
(Continued on page 246)

The author won the James D. Phelan Award for his scholarly account of the origins of California agriculture. He is presently completing a history of California farm workers, 1769-1982. This four-volume study with photographs is based on 600 manuscript collections ranging from mission archives and the papers of César Chávez to material in the Bank of America archives and declassified F.B.I. files.

A KERN COUNTY DIARY
The Forgotten Photographs of Carleton E. Watkins
1881–1888

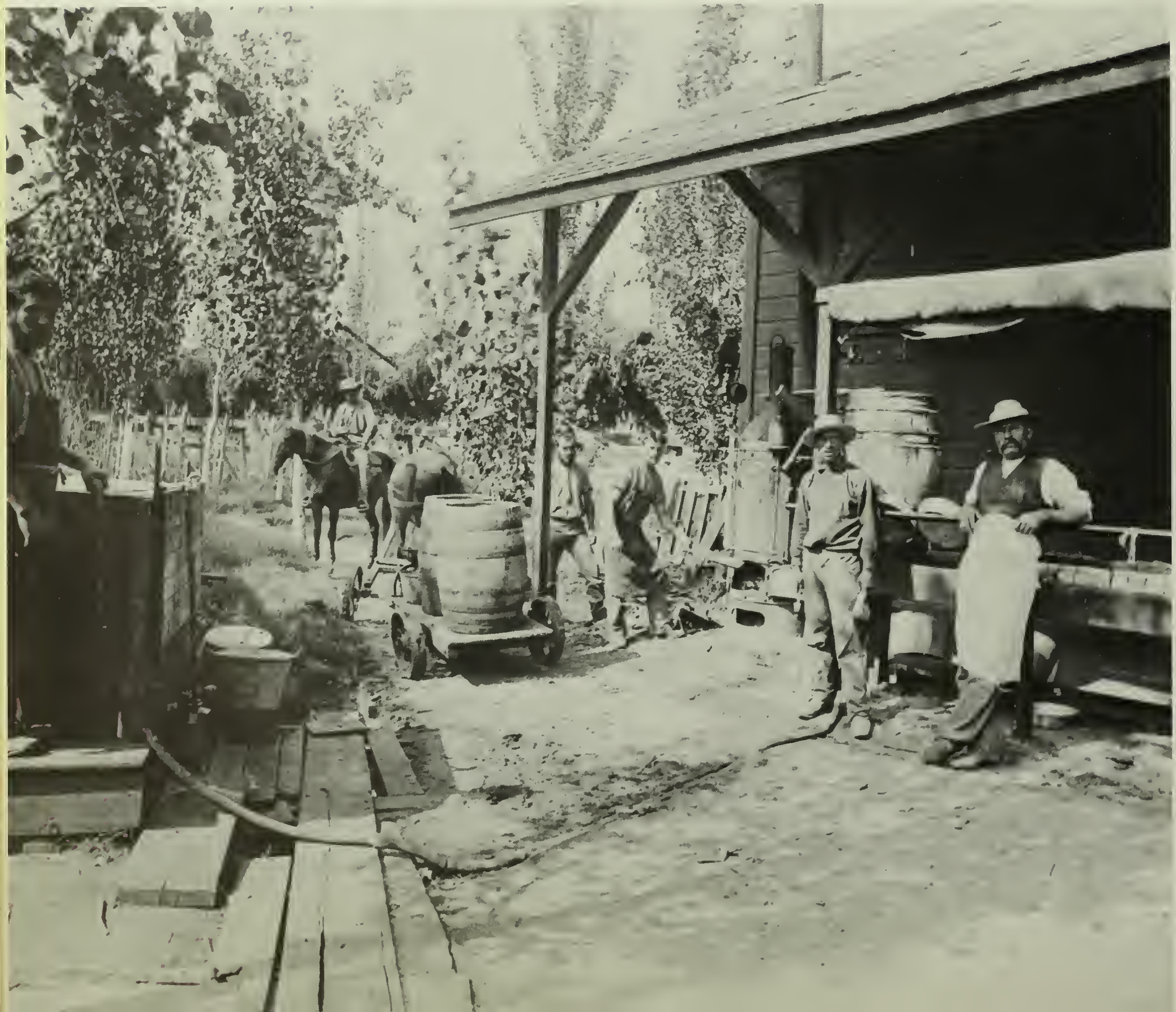


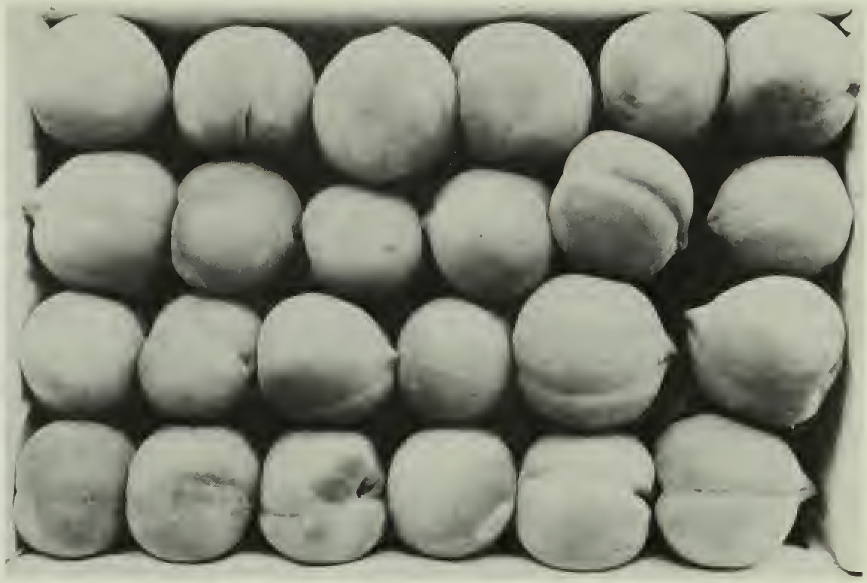
The fourth in a sequence of five progressively closer images of wheat threshing made on Greenfields Ranch, this unposed close-up conveys some of the danger, noise, and dust of agricultural work on the large ranches around Bakersfield. Tenneco West, Bakersfield



Cataloging every aspect of dairy ranching, Watkins photographed milk pans standing to produce cream at the Cotton Ranch Dairy near Bakersfield. Tenneco West, Bakersfield

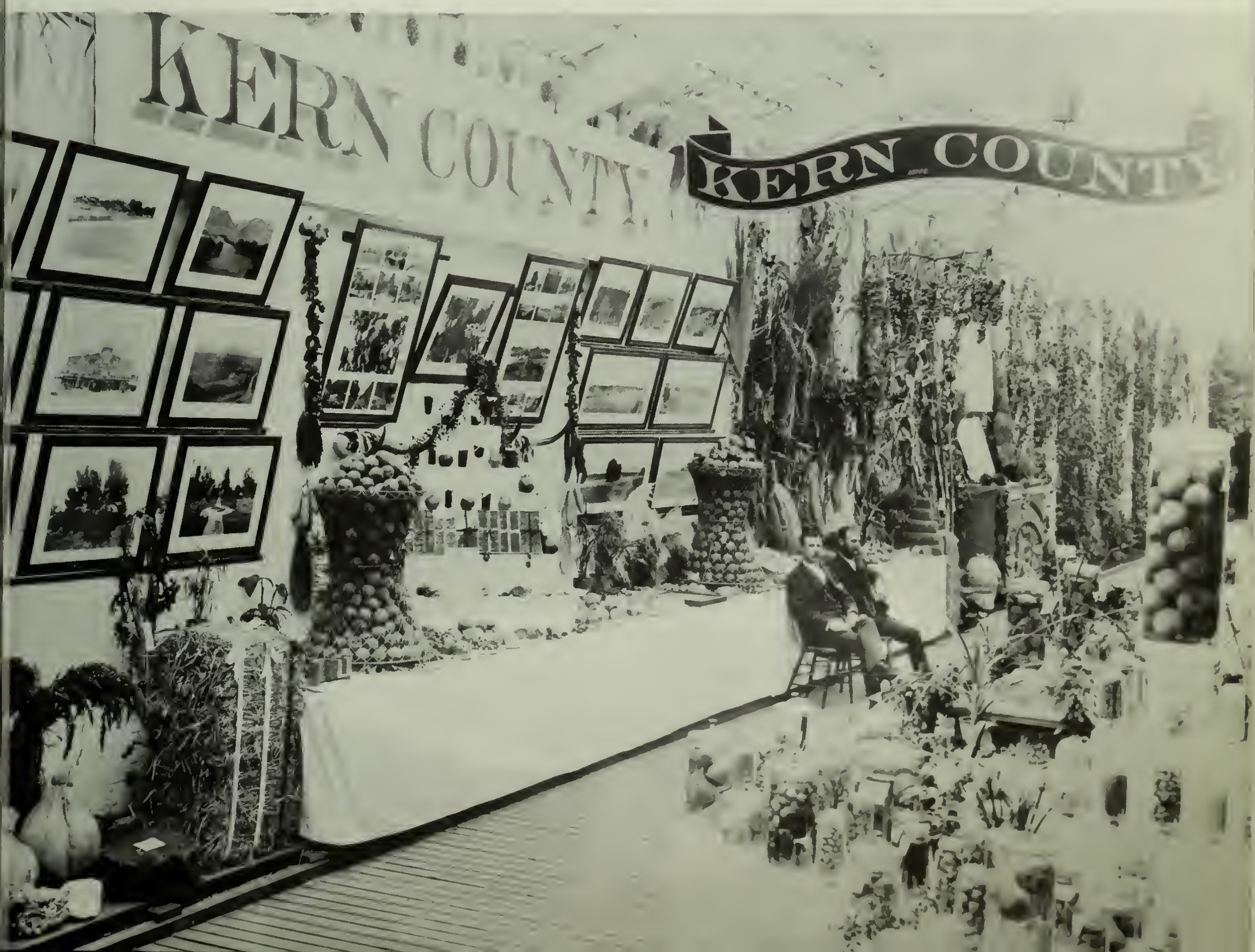
At Mountain View Dairy southwest of Bakersfield, Watkins photographed a crew processing milk and making cheese under the eye of a watchful superintendent (right). Poplar trees, three years old and already twenty-five feet high, shade the chute conducting milk from the milking shed in the background to the dairy house. Beale Memorial Library, Bakersfield





This still life shows boxed "Late George" cling peaches grown, as the printed legend certifies, on Bakersfield trees "but thirty months old." Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino

Eager to attract settlers and investors, the Kern County Board of Trade promoted the region's agricultural potential by shipping bales of alfalfa, baskets of fruit, and jars of specialty crops to the 1889 Mechanics' Institute Fair in San Francisco. Lining one wall of the display, Carleton Watkins' photographs provided undeniable evidence of the attractiveness and prosperity of the still largely barren area. Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino



Kern County to buy land and settle on farms. Watkins' assignment, therefore, was to conduct a visual inventory of the Haggin property and portrayed it in all its most civilized glory. These photographs were eventually used to illustrate various printed promotional advertisements.[5]

Watkins' preparations for his southern San Joaquin Valley trip must have been extensive. Packing and loading his equipment for the 315-mile journey from San Francisco no doubt required several days. While the local newspapers reported neither his preparations nor departure, Watkins probably followed his well-established pattern of leasing two rail cars—one for his horses and traveling wagon, the other as quarters for living and working—and using his annual rail pass provided by Southern Pacific Railroad President Collis P. Huntington. Once in Bakersfield, Watkins probably had his cars pulled off on a siding where he could unload his equipment. Since Haggin and his partner in land holdings, Lloyd Tevis, as well as various other wealthy Nob Hill San Francisco acquaintances, maintained residences in Bakersfield, Watkins may have stopped to visit with them.[6]

Watkins' activities were briefly noted in the July 7, 1888, issue of the *Kern County Californian*, a weekly newspaper long hostile to every aspect of Haggin's schemes. Reporting little more than the presence of the "noted photographer," the journal did carry one significant piece of information, a reference to Watkins' earlier activity in Bakersfield during the fall of 1887, when he apparently photographed many local homes and estates.[7]

The only extended description of Watkins' photographic mission in Kern County appeared in the *Californian* on July 21:

> Mr. C.E. Watkins, the eminent photographer of San Francisco, is in Kern County taking views of various ranches and picturesque scenes. This is an unusual opportunity for those who want photographs of their property to have them taken. Mr. Watkins will visit any place desired. His charge is only $6 per dozen for the 8 × 10 size, and others in proportion. We advise our people to apply at once, as Mr. Watkins will be here but a few days. Orders left at Maude's stationery store, or through the post office, will receive prompt attention.[8]

Four aspects of this article are notable. The first is the description of Watkins as an "eminent" photographer, a phrase demonstrating high public regard for Watkins even at this late stage of his career. The second is the price Watkins charged for his photographs, which was no more than what several local photographers were asking. The third point to note is the arrangement with Maude's Stationery Store, which reveals Watkins' alertness to any residual sales of his photographs to individual clients. The fourth and most illuminating piece of information is the report that Watkins was selling 8 × 10-inch prints, an indication that he may have converted from his favored mammoth-size wet plates to commercially manufactured, pre-coated, pre-sensitized 8 × 10-inch plates.[9]

Watkins spent from early July until the middle of August in the area around Bakersfield taking photographs. He was accompanied by a small group of men from the Haggin-Tevis land operations, as well as foremen and managers from the Henry Miller-Charles Lux ranching operations, who guided Watkins and his assistant (probably Watkins' all-around helper, Charlie Stuples) from one site to another.[10]

Temperatures on the plains surrounding Bakersfield hovered between 100 and 110 degrees throughout July. This must have drained the 58 year-old photographer, who for many years had been suffering from rheumatism and leg problems. Moreover, the work proceeded very slowly, in part because of Watkins' age, ill-health, and the heat, in part because of the size of the photographic party and extensive equipment, but primarily because the Haggin-Tevis land holdings were so widely scattered.[11]

Watkins averaged about twenty-four photographs each day. Normally, he photographed between three and six scenes at each site before moving on. It was very deliberate photography, under less than ideal conditions, but Watkins seems to have maintained his good nature during these hot meanderings. According to one account based on an interview with Watkins' daughter, the veteran camera artist had returned from a full day of work north of Bakersfield when

> he found the property owners were having an elaborate dinner party. They invited him to join them. Watkins had only his old work clothes, and his one white shirt was dirty. Nevertheless, they insisted he join the gay party, and promised that they would dress him up. Whereupon Watkins washed his shirt, and his hosts produced a linen duster, nattily cut in the shape of a swallow tail coat. While everyone else at the affair was in full dress, Watkins was the life of the party dressed in the improvised coat.[12]

In the 700-odd Bakersfield photographs, ranches, ranch products, and ranch life were Watkins' main subjects. Giving today's viewer a distinct and well-rounded impression of the area, these images were photographed by Watkins almost a century ago to inventory in a sympathetic manner diverse aspects of the Haggin land empire. On the same expedition Watkins also photographed buildings and gardens for the valley's few wealthy land owners, documented the recently completed Southern Hotel (where Haggin had his headquarters) and much of downtown Bakersfield (it would burn down within one year), surveyed the Southern Pacific switching yards at Sumner Station, executed a number of pastoral views, and made innumerable portraits of valley residents including ranch managers, farm hands, and pioneer families.[13]

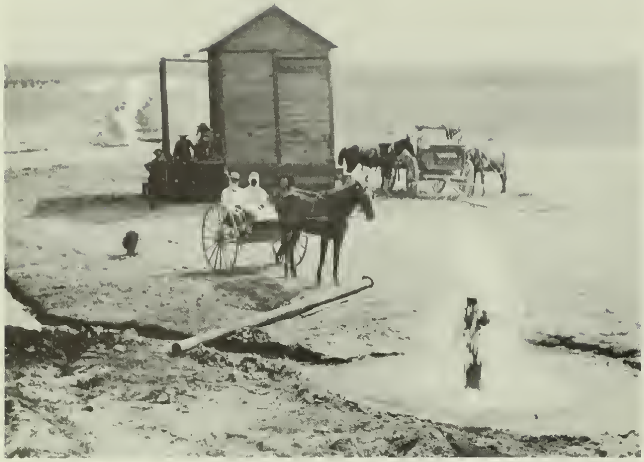
Although the subject matter was conventional and prescribed, Watkins did not treat the images as routine. Balancing mundane surroundings with his deep commitment to artistry, he turned a simple view of an irrigation canal into a study of water bringing life to the desert. A photograph of farmers posing with oversize sugar beets or giant corn stalks became a suggestive presentation of Kern County's agricultural potential. As Watkins' biographer Peter Palmquist has observed, Watkins' photographs of Kern County succeed because, despite the commonness of his subjects, Watkins always approached them with a careful eye for composition, texture, and the imprint of humanity on the raw landscape.[14]

While Watkins' photographs contain a heightened sense of a particular time and place—they are what we would have seen or understood had we been in the valley with him—the images are also akin to pages in a diary. A close reading reveals heretofore hidden aspects of Watkins' working methodology and vision. Some of the images are surprising, some are far in advance of their time.[15]

Most of Watkins' ranch pictures suggest a similar sequence of setting up a camera as he approached, taking an overview, photographing the entrance to the ranch, then moving on to document barns, stables, orchards and fields. If the ranch had a special cow, an artesian well, a champion race horse, or a fine garden, Watkins carefully recorded it. Next he would turn to the harvest crew or some behemoth farm machinery. Finally, as he left, he made another view. Telling the story through a sequence of long, medium, and close-up views, Watkins used a very modern approach closely resembling the technique of the contemporary photo essayist.[16]

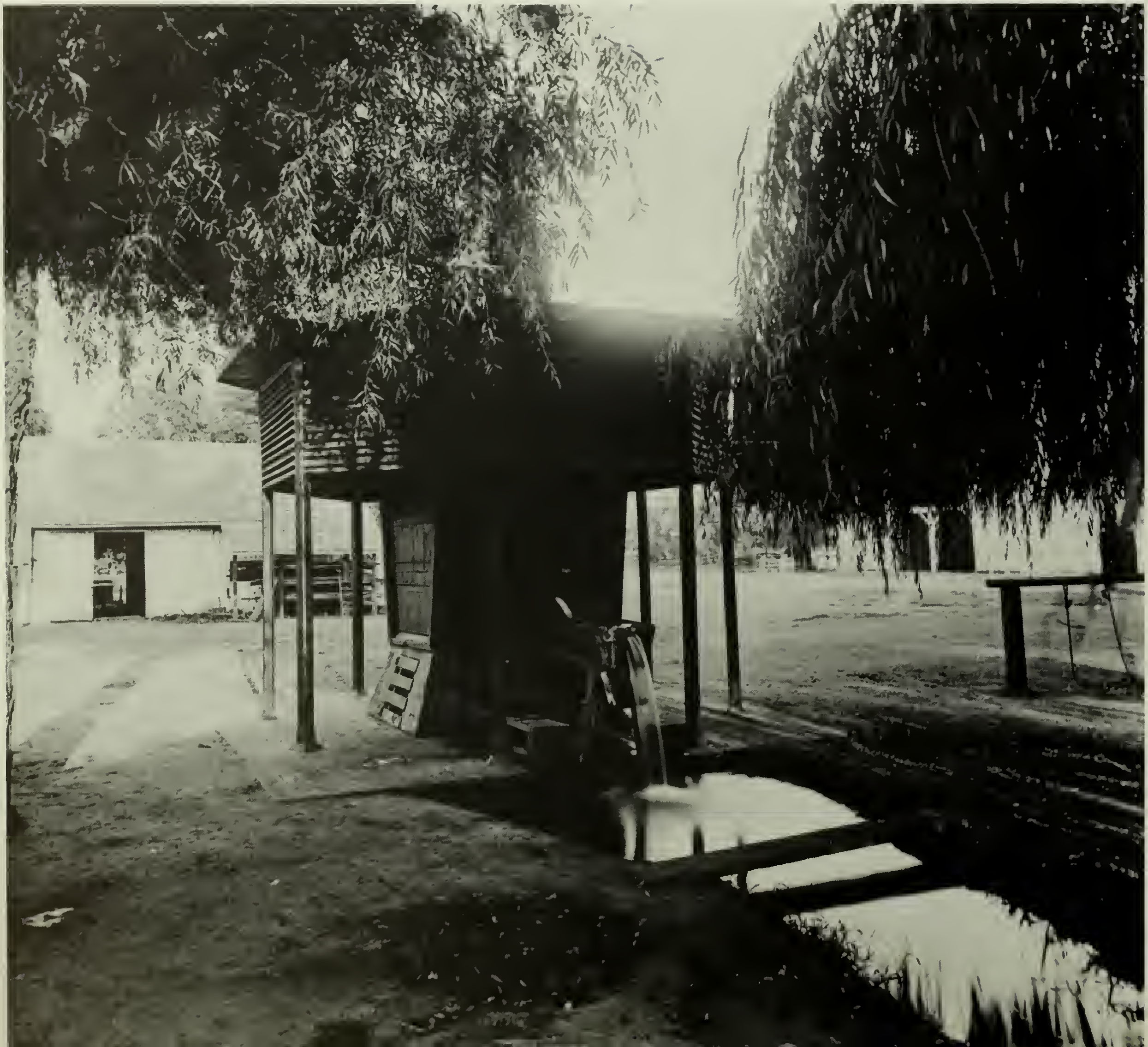
Unlike the present-day essayist, however, Watkins liked to arrange people, in effect to "direct" the making of his pictures, particularly those involving large groups. His ranch photographs therefore fre-

(Continued on page 254)



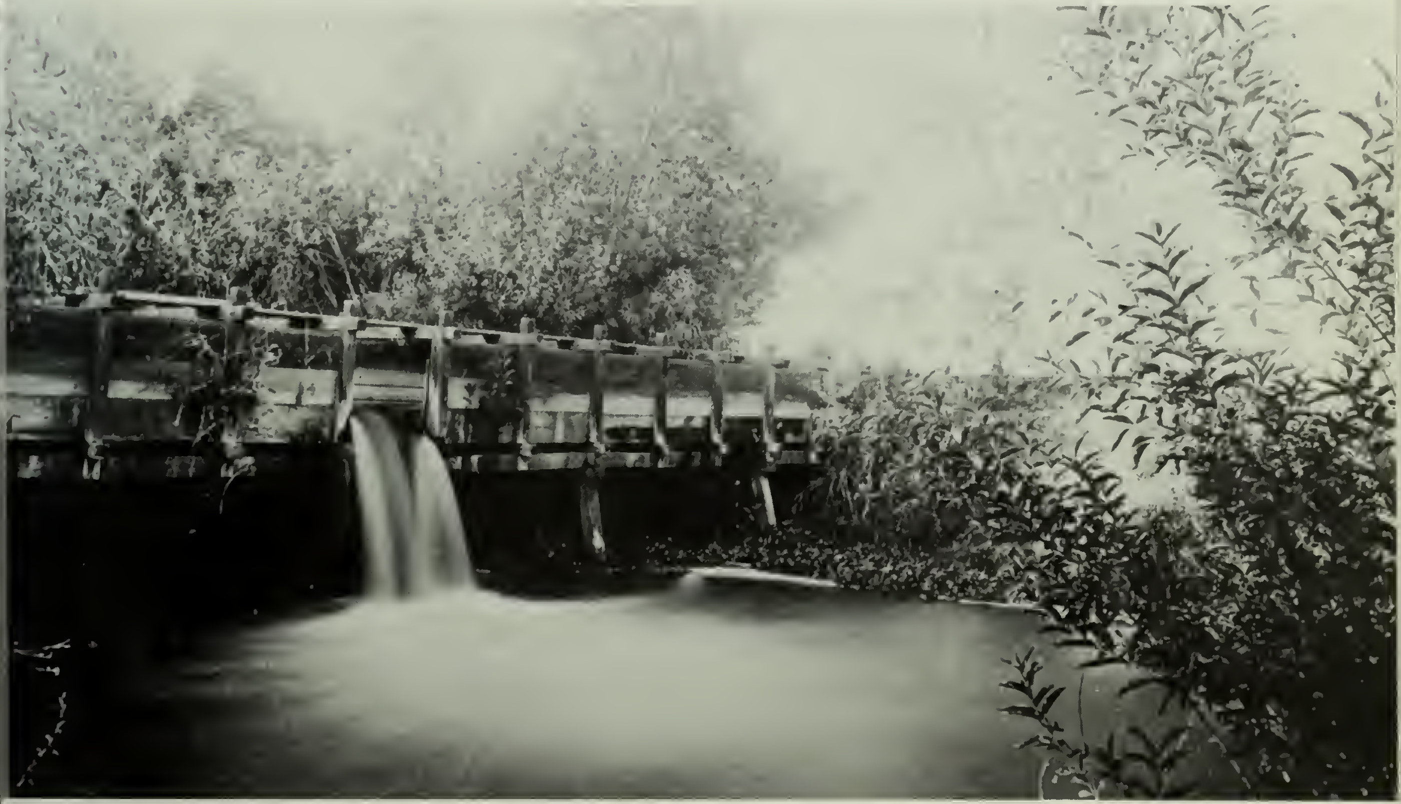
Ice-cold, slightly carbonated and free, water from wells in eastern Kern County's "artesian belt" was praised by land developers who adjusted the price of the land accordingly. Driving out into the creosote and sagebrush, Watkins captured a prospective aging farmer and his wife admiring their fountain of life with the drilling crew who brought it in. The portable shack had probably been pulled in on skids from Bakersfield. Library of Congress

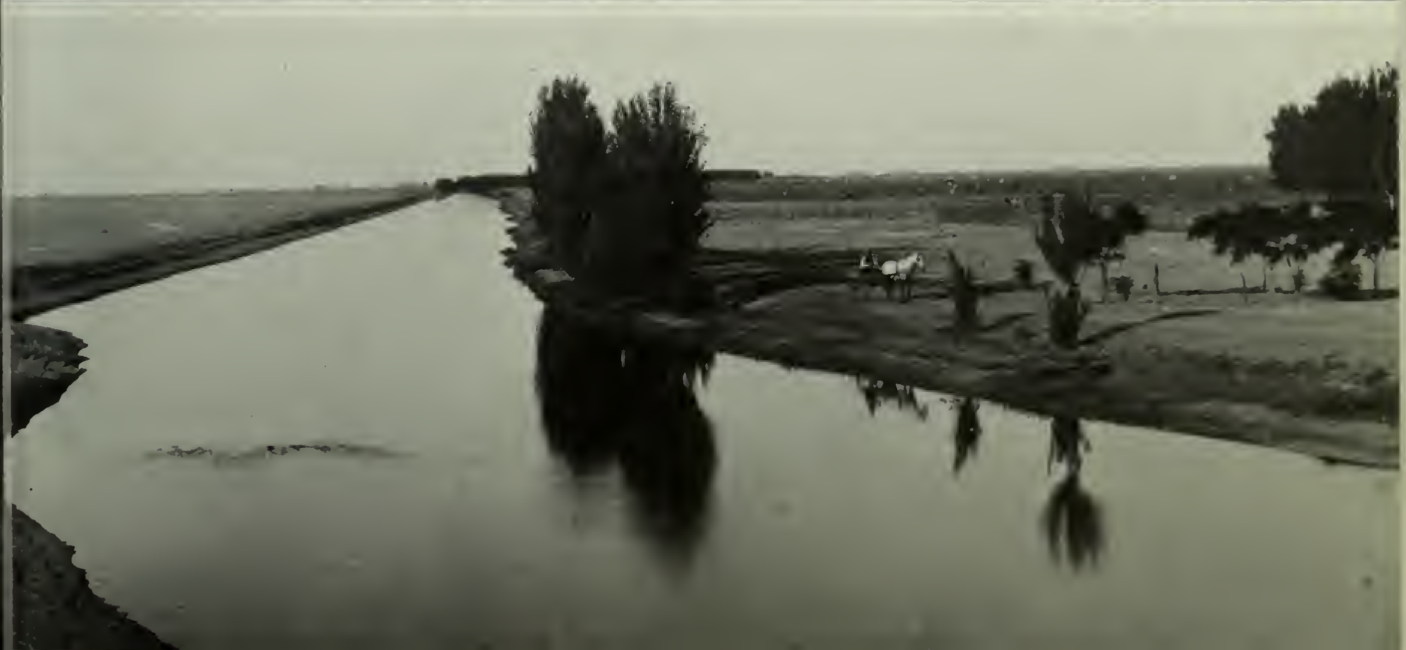
Beneath two weeping willows shading the water storage tanks, the artesian well at the superintendent's residence on Greenfield's Ranch reportedly gushed 33,000 gallons of water per day. In the background are the men's dining room, the blacksmith shop, and the great barn. Kern County Museum, Bakersfield

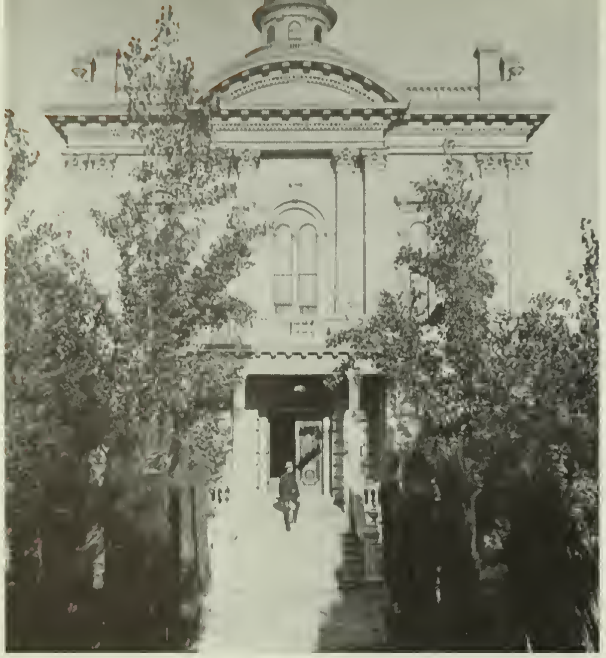


By the late 1880s, the plains surrounding Bakersfield had been so covered by irrigation canals that aqueducts were necessary to carry one body of running water over another. Here Watkins shows the wooden flume of Farmer's Canal crossing the Panama Ditch. His long, two or three-second exposure transforms an ordinary view into a scene of bucolic serenity. Tenneco West, Bakersfield

The Calloway Canal was completed in 1879 by James B. Haggin and William B. Carr, who owned the land on its eastern bank. In this view, Watkins distilled the essence of the role played by Kern River water in the area's development. Tenneco West, Bakersfield

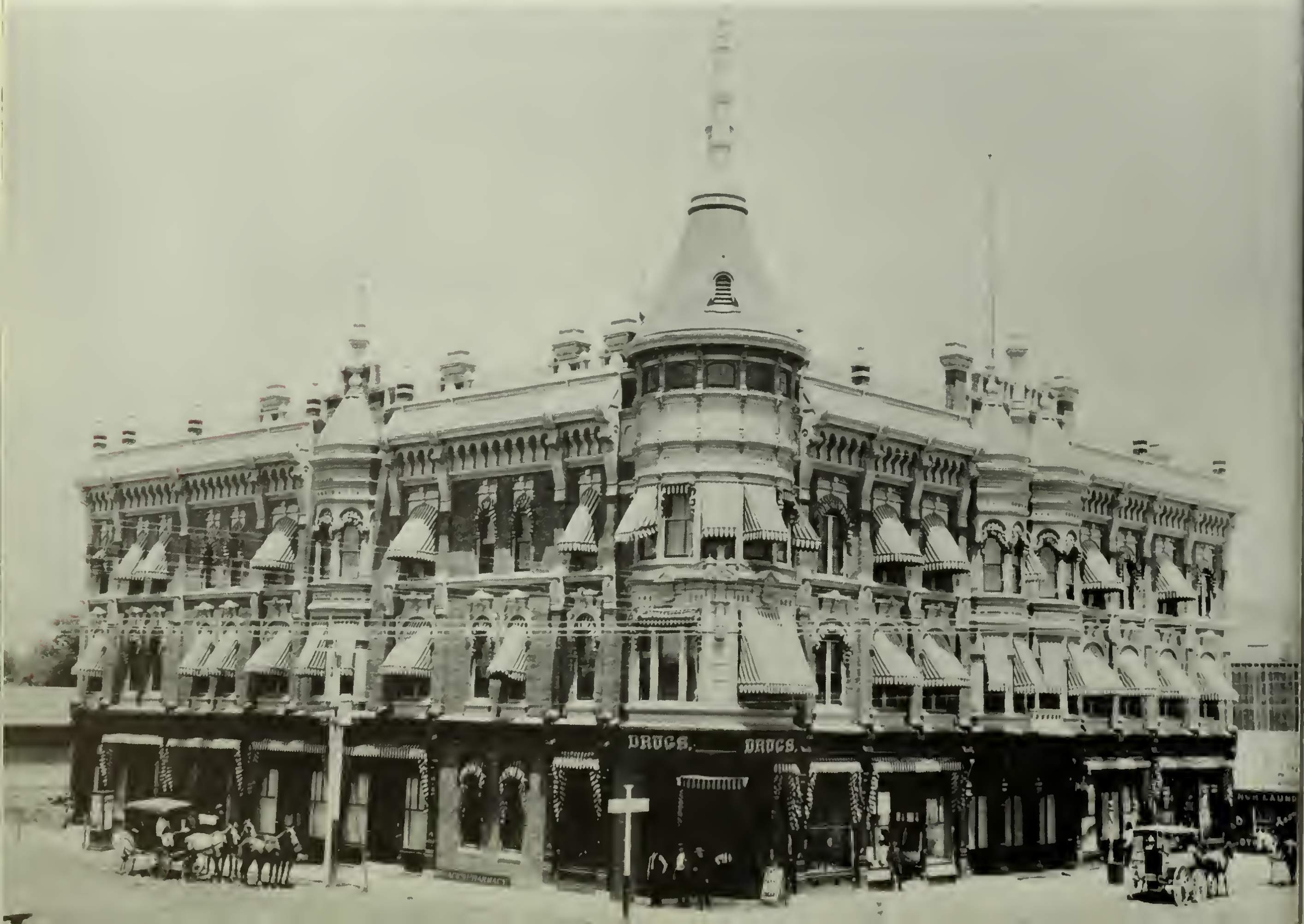


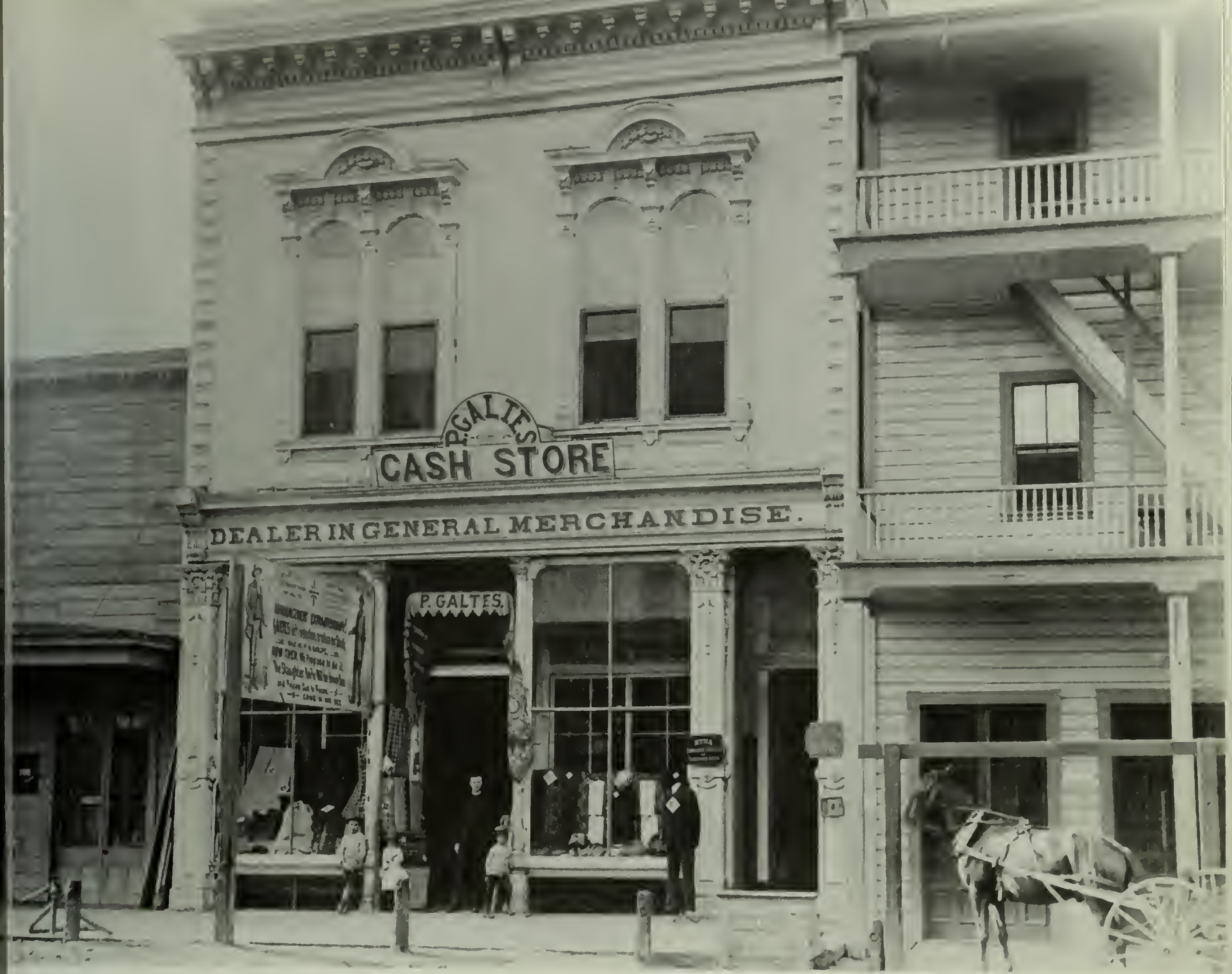




Built in 1875, the Kern County Court House claimed a public square of two acres, surrounded by poplar trees, blue grass, and white clover. Referring to it as the "Goddess of Liberty," locals believed it was one of the most beautiful parks in the state. Tenneco West, Bakersfield

Burned in the July 1889 fire which destroyed much of Bakersfield, the Southern Hotel, at the corner of Nineteenth Street and Chesler Avenue, was a monument to the town's civic optimism. It was also the center of town life. James B. Haggin had his land office there; Black's Pharmacy, the telegraph office, a barber shop, the French Laundry, a paint store, and a printing shop shared the ground floor. The San Francisco architects McDougall and Son designed the building. Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino

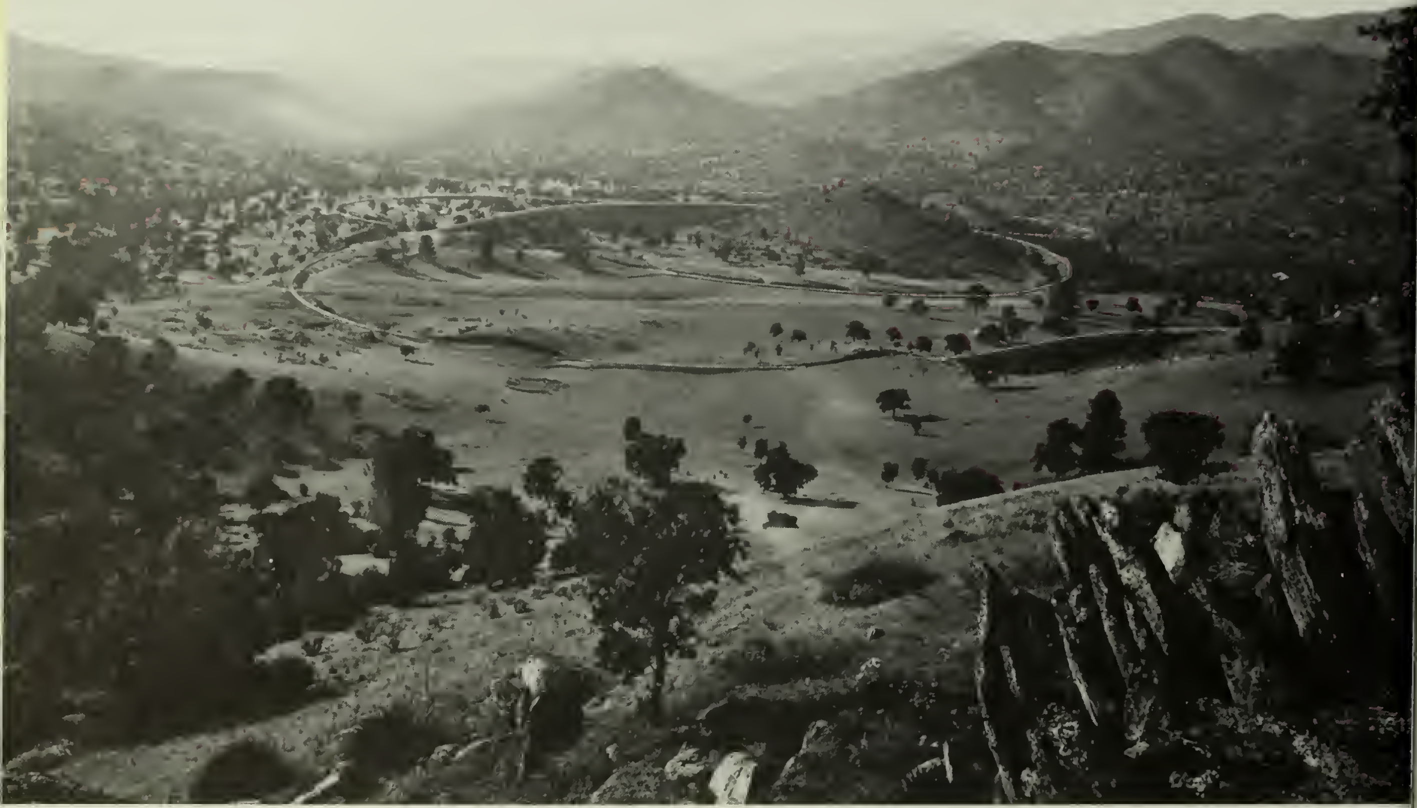




In 1878, businessman Paul Galtes erected Bakersfield's first brick building, which also featured a plate glass window. The advertisement spanning the sidewalk reads: "The slaughter knife will be driven deep, and prices cut to pieces. Come in and see." Tenneco West, Bakersfield

On a barren, sandy lot, trees were planted in 1884 and a mansard-roof house built in 1887. "In the best of the good old states east of the Rockies, it would require ten to fifteen years to reach similar results," stressed the caption affixed to this Watkins photograph of exemplary home life in Bakersfield. Beale Memorial Library, Bakersfield

Southeast of Bakersfield, the Southern Pacific tracks to Los Angeles doubled back upon themselves in order to gain elevation. Accordingly, the caboose of an 85-car train would pass under its engine directly above. This construction marvel, described by one newspaper as being as "crooked and devious as San Francisco politicians," was the focus of extensive public curiosity. On this photographic print, Watkins directed an assistant to draw a line of tiny dots and dashes tracing the railroad's circuitous route.
California Section, California State Library, Sacramento



The Southern Pacific Railroad bypassed Bakersfield because the town's citizens refused to appropriate the customary subsidy required for establishing a station in town. Hence, the switching yards, roundhouse, and warehouse were located a mile-and-a-half to the northeast, where Watkins made this photograph. It is typical of many railroad pictures executed during his career. Tenneco West, Bakersfield

The Southern Pacific's main line to the east crossed the Kern River on this bridge a mile north of Bakersfield and a quarter-mile downstream from the diversion headgates of the Haggin and Tevis irrigation complex. Beale Memorial Library, Bakersfield

quently depict workers in the midst of some key activity and at the apex of action—the instant during a hay-stacking operation when the hay fork was swung high into position, or the moment near daybreak when a wheat harvest crew paused before moving out of the ranch enclosure into the fields.[17]

Watkins probably used a "cap, un-cap" procedure in making these pictures, and his exposures in the open sunlight lasted about one-fifth of a second. Had the exposures been longer—in the range of two to three seconds each—most of the animals would have moved and become blurs. Watkins' exposures were never short enough to freeze action totally, however, as the whirling windmills in many barnyard scenes clearly demonstrate.[18]

A careful evaluation of Watkins' Kern County views suggests another highly unusual and little known aspect of the photographer's working technique: his habit of photographing from the roof of his traveling wagon at a height of about fifteen feet. Particularly well suited to the flat and unspectacular Kern County landscape, the technique helped transform undramatic views into interesting scenic vistas rich with information.[19]

Watkins made many of his photographs in soft, early morning light. In part this was an accommodation to the realities of farm life where people rose early and began work just after dawn. Group pictures portraying harvesting could only be done at this time. But Watkins' use of early morning light also stemmed from his desire to avoid the heat and harsh light of mid-day July in the southern San Joaquin Valley. Additionally, Watkins' early morning work freed him to do portraiture in the open shade of farm buildings during the late afternoon when people had returned from the fields and had time to pose.[20]

Watkins recorded his own shadow, as well as the shadow of his tripod and the dark camera drape, in some of these early morning photographs, but there is other evidence of the photographer's presence. Some views reveal the ears and heads of his horses protruding into a corner. Others show Watkins' traveling buggy parked on a bridge or in the middle of a field, in such a position to give a sense of scale to various elements in the landscape. One of the Kern County photographs may even include Watkins himself. It shows a group of men camped in front of a large tree with Watkins' photographic wagon at the right. In the center is a white-bearded man wearing a long smock and big hat who is of Watkins' exact build and appearance.[21]

What was the subsequent history of Watkin's Kern County photographs from mid-summer 1888? The story is unclear. Watkins probably processed his glass plates when he returned to Bakersfield and eventually shipped them back to his San Francisco studio at 427 Montgomery Street. Here his Chinese assistant no doubt devoted several weeks to the task of printing images from the glass negatives, mounting the prints on heavy rag board, and affixing extensive type-set captions to the boards. All Watkins' post-1875 works were given a "New Series" label.[22]

During September 1888, the Kern County Board of Trade purchased two dozen of these photographs. In size, some measured 14 × 21 inches rather than approximately 8 × 10 inches, which would have been standard for pre-coated photographic plates. This suggests that they might have been prints from an earlier assignment, most likely Watkins' 1881 survey of the Kern River, when he was still using his mammoth wet-plate camera. It is also possible that Watkins used both an 8 × 10-inch dry-plate camera and a 14 × 21-inch wet-plate camera on his 1888 assignment.[23]

Mounted in attractive wooden frames behind glass, these Kern County prints were exhibited in San Francisco at the twenty-fourth Mechanics' Institute Industrial Fair. Trade journals praised the way they were displayed—flanked by jars of preserves, pyramids of jumbo fruits, mounds of fine vegetables, stands of corn, and drapes of colorful bunting and paper streamers. *Breeder and Sportsman* described the Watkins photographs as the most attractive element in Kern County's exhibit.[24]

In October, several volumes of Watkins' Kern County photographs—now bound in hefty albums adorned with maroon covers and inlaid gold titles—went on sale at A.C. Maude's Stationery Store in Bakersfield. Priced at $30 per album, or 50¢ per photograph complete with embossed Watkins' logo ("considerable less than the actual cost," according to Maude's advertisement), the photographs and albums nevertheless sold slowly. Despite Maude's assurance that "a few of these pictures sent to your friends will tell them more of the beauties and resources of this country than can be written," it was not until February 1889 that the last of Watkins' albums was finally purchased.[25]

Not surprisingly, perhaps, the most extensive use of Watkins' Kern County images was made by the Haggin and Tevis land development operations. Beginning in late 1888, the two promoters started issuing pamphlets, brochures, and booklets illustrated with Watkins' photographs, particularly the scenes featuring churches, schools, and improved property. The images were proof, as one advertisement explained, that Kern County "does not partake of the wild and woolly west."[26]

Over the next ten years, the Haggin and Tevis operation—now incorporated as the Kern County Land Company—reprinted, exhibited, and published hundreds of Watkins' photographs. Some were displayed at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893; some were published as engravings in New York and San Francisco, often without credit to Watkins. Occasionally, the engraving companies took liberties with Watkins' images, reversing them and deleting or adding people or scenery. One typical spread, appearing in the January 1893 issue of the *Traveler* and using five of Watkins' photographs, claimed:

> It is safe to say that no other portion of the Coast outside of this offers equal inducements to the home builder. The buyer may rest assured that he gets what he buys, and he buys from the first hands; he should expect, and will most certainly receive (if he deserves it), good, fair treatment from the hands of Kern County Land Company.[27]

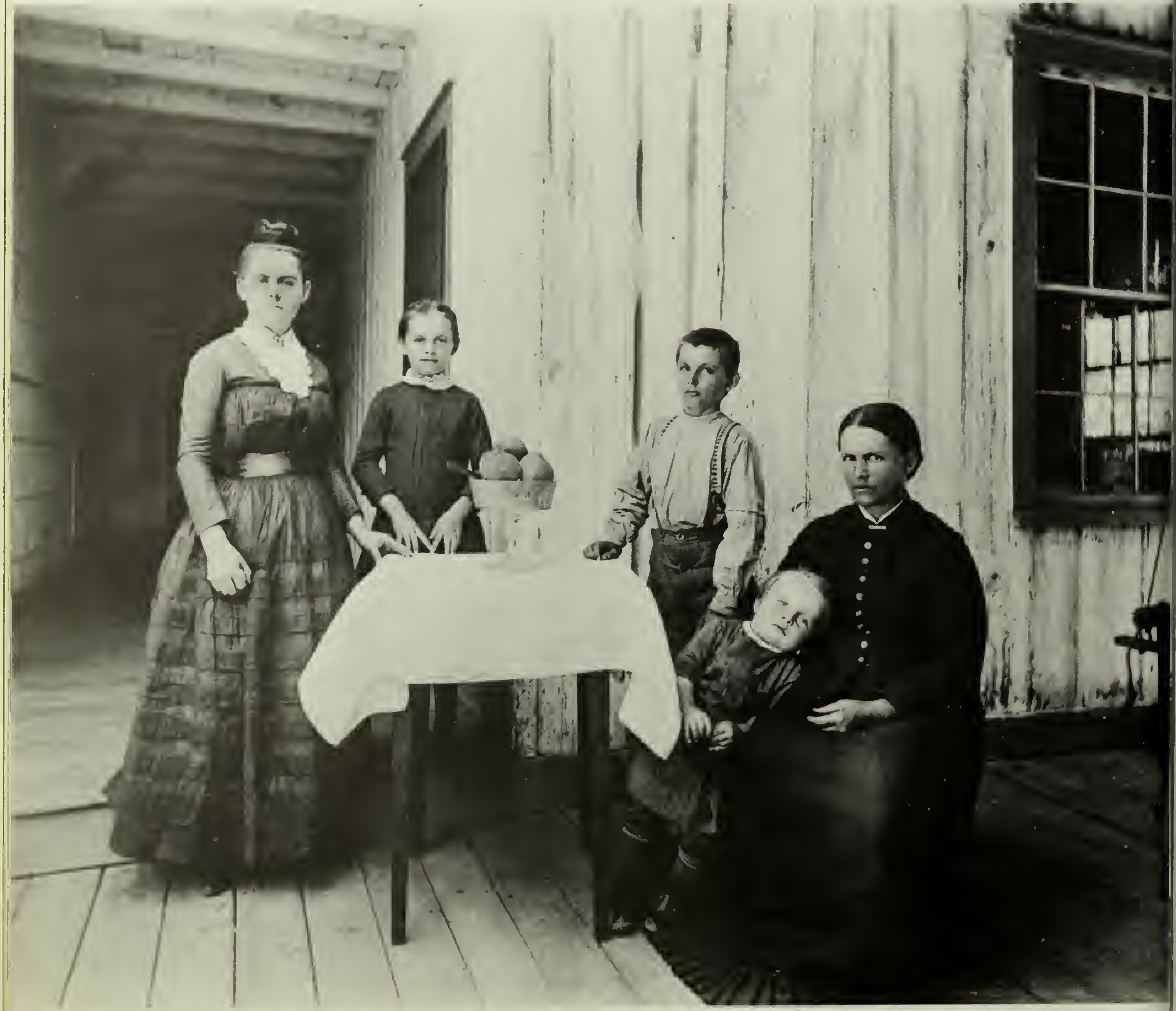
Kern County Land Company's campaign was highly successful. With the aid of special discount tickets, settlers packed the excursion trains and flocked to the Bakersfield area, where sales representatives greeted and escorted them to massive land auctions embellished by great, festive barbecues.

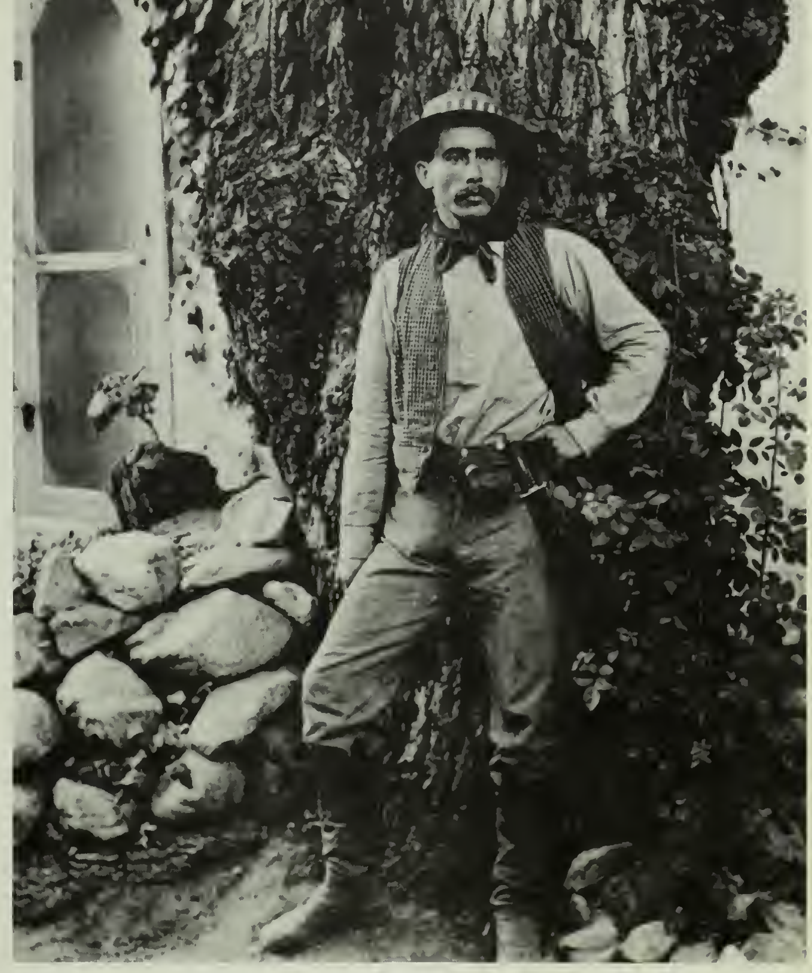
By the turn of the century, much of the Kern County land had been sold, and the company began shifting its activity from promotion to farming and oil producing. As a consequence, Watkins' photographs—which had been an important part of this success—were no longer useful to the company.[28]

Consigned to dusty archives at Tejon Ranch, Watkins' photographs remained virtually untouched for the next seventy-five years. When Watkins died in Napa State Hospital for the Insane in 1916, he left behind no record of his Kern County assignment. Most of his negatives, including those from Kern County, were destroyed in the San Francisco earthquake and fire. Consequently, historians have overlooked his photographic adventures in the southern San Joaquin Valley. For many years, the only reference to his work for Haggin and Tevis consisted of three sentences written in 1918 by Watkins' friend and biographer, C.B. Turrill.[29]

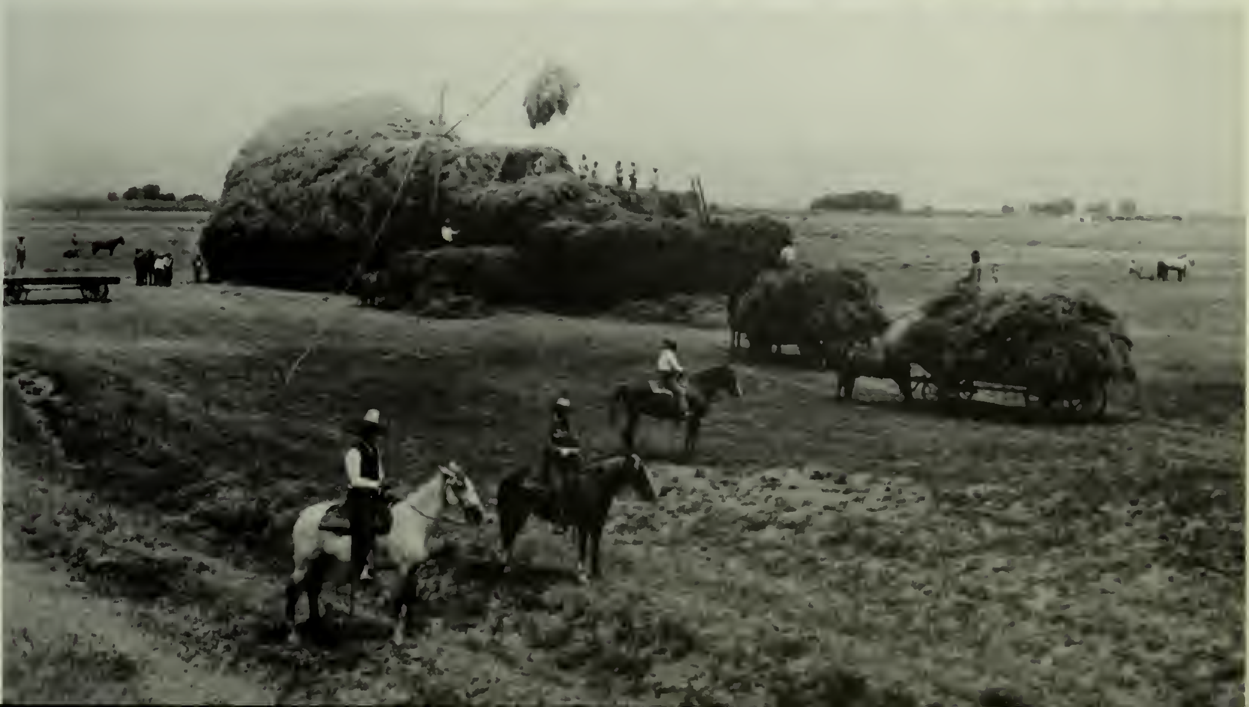
(Continued on page 260)

Dressed in their best and seemingly paying homage to a shrine of large peaches, these Poso Ranch women and children arranged themselves for Watkins, perhaps while the men and older boys were still in the fields. The youngest child might have been feeling the effects of standing in full dress while the sun was still high in the sky. Tenneco West, Bakersfield





By his pose, this is a man of authority; by his dress, and his big knife, he is not a rancher or landowner. His is the stance of a key overseer—a "majordomo," as they were called then—and he probably supervised a large number of men, frequently joining in the work himself. Tenneco West, Bakersfield



Ranching in the southern San Joaquin Valley meant putting up alfalfa in such large quantities that ordinary methods of handling would not suffice. Stacks from 100 to 300 feet long and 30 feet high and wide contained 700 to 800 tons of hay. It was stacked using the derrick and fork, a California invention powered by horses. Although the foreman and his assistant in this photograph at Buena Vista Ranch are Caucasians, the majority of the workers are Chinese.
Kern County Museum, Bakersfield

In 1871 Alex Godney planted eighty fig trees, three rows deep, on a section of San Emigidio Ranch. The trees grew into a dense thicket, and their splendid dappled shade became a favorite late afternoon haven. Beneath the crop of black figs, families could read or drowse in hammocks or on sofas and at benches until the hot sun went down. Tenneco West, Bakersfield

Never by choice a portrait photographer—although finances required sittings in his San Francisco studio—Watkins made some distinctive environmental portraits in Kern County. In this deliberate, precisely framed scene at the McClung Ranch arbor, Watkins photographed a young girl who is probably the superintendent's daughter. She stands formally, but still naturally, as if she had just returned from church. Kern County Museum, Bakersfield

What the settlers of the 1880s created in the Kern Valley was an oasis. For miles around were vast, bare plains—flat, some set to crops and irrigated, but in many places still overgrown with sage. In their midst, however, was Bakersfield, and Watkins documented for disbelievers homes with beautifully arranged grounds, lush lawns, and tall shade trees. Beale Memorial Library, Bakersfield

In this rare glimpse of Chinese workers building the American West, Watkins' photograph shows a trusted Chinese boiler tender keeping the all-important water pump stoked at the McClung Ranch. Library of Congress

Because of a labor shortage in the southern San Joaquin Valley in the 1880s, Chinese workers were employed extensively on ranches where they did laundry, cooked, plowed, harvested, and threshed. In this early morning photograph, Watkins shows them at the milking stalls of the Kern Island Dairy. Library of Congress

Watkins photographed the central barnyard at Poso Ranch, a 20,540-acre diversified farming operation 23 miles north of Bakersfield, just after 5 A.M. breakfast. The four-horse teams are ready to pull scrapers on an extension of the Calloway Canal. Commanding the foreground are the superintendent and the foreman. Tenneco West, Bakersfield

Fire, theft, and the ravages of time destroyed most of the original Kern County albums, but a few survived. During the 1930s, the Library of Congress received 415 of the photographs. Smaller, less complete collections were also acquired by the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California, and by the Kern County Museum and the Beale Memorial Library in Bakersfield. A few pictures also found their way to the California Historical Society in San Francisco.[30]

The largest and most complete collection of Watkins' Kern County work—about 700 images—remained for almost a century in the possession of Kern County Land Company. When Tenneco West, Inc. absorbed Kern County Land Company in 1976, it recognized the value of Watkins' photographs, preserved them, used them in occasional corporate publications, and made them available to carefully-screened historians and photographic scholars. This essay represents the first systematic survey of these pictures. And while a final assessment requires further research and a linking of these photographs to Watkins' work in other areas of California and the West, at least one important conclusion from the Kern County albums is possible: Carleton E. Watkins was far more productive, versatile, and innovative, and had a far greater impact on the opening up of California than historians have previously known.[32]

Notes

1. This photograph is the last in a sequence of five wheat threshing pictures taken on the Greenfields Ranch, a 12,800-acre operation eleven miles south of Bakersfield. Beginning with a distant view, taken from the top of his traveling wagon, Watkins moved progressively closer to the threshing crew. In the last three pictures, shot from ground level, he focuses only on the machinery and the workers.
2. The exact number of photographs made by Watkins in Kern County is debatable. This figure is based on the advertisements placed by A.C. Maude in the Kern County *Californian* in October, November, and December 1888. Since Maude sold the photographs in his stationery store, his account is probably reliable. Other sources simply state that Watkins made about 700 pictures. A definitive tabulation is impossible because none of the various collections of the Kern County pictures, including the most complete group at Tenneco West, Bakersfield, contains all Watkins' photographs from the southern San Joaquin Valley.
3. The only account of Watkins' Kern County photography consists of three sentences in C.B. Turrill's "An Early California Photographer: C.E. Watkins." *News Notes of California Libraries*, 13:1 (January, 1918), p. 34. The special Watkins issue of *California History* (Fall 1978) notes only that Watkins worked in Kern County c. 1890 for the Kern County Land Company. Peter Palmquist's reassessment of Watkins, "What Price Success? The Life and Photography of Carleton E. Watkins," *American West*, July-August 1980, pp. 14-15, 66-67, does not mention the Kern County assignment.
4. Watkins first photographed in Kern County during February or March 1880, when he traveled south over the newly completed Southern Pacific railroad line to Los Angeles and Yuma, Arizona. On assignment for Collis P. Huntington, Watkins compiled a visual inventory of various sights along the route. Since 117 miles of the line, including the most prominent engineering accomplishment—the "Tehachapi loop," where the rails doubled back on themselves, allowing an engine pulling a long line of cars to pass over its caboose as it emerged from a tunnel 27 feet directly below—lay in Kern County, Watkins devoted considerable attention to the area. Using his mammoth plate and stereo cameras, he made views of the rail line as it snaked its way through the mountains southeast of Bakersfield. He also recorded desert scenes along the railroad in the Mojave Desert of southern Kern County. These views are in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, and the California State Library, Sacramento. For information on Watkins' ties with Haggin, see interview with Peter Palmquist, April 24, 1981, and interview with Richard Margantini, Tenneco West, Bakersfield, February 29, 1981, in author's possession. Watkins' photography in Kern County during 1880 can be found in *Charles Lux vs. James B. Haggin*, Supreme Court of the State of California, District Court Records, Vol. 2, Case Numbers 8587 and 8577 (1888), pp. 577-587, California State Archives, Sacramento. The volume contains a long and hostile cross-examination of Watkins that sheds light on his loyalty to Haggin. The subsequent history of the 1881 mammoth plates is shadowy, and it appears that the originals have been lost.
5. Haggin could have hired a local photographer for the Bakersfield promotion, for by this time there were several portrait galleries in the southern San Joaquin Valley. Particularly outstanding was C.A. Nelson, whose studio opposite the

While no known photographs show Watkins on the Kern County expedition of 1888, in this serene view his familiar traveling wagon reflects in the still waters of the Pioneer Canal just north of Bakersfield. Library of Congress

Kern Valley Bank in Bakersfield advertised cabinet-size photographs at $3 per dozen, plus "instantaneous" photographs even on cloudy days as well as baby pictures. Although Nelson also did landscape work for the valley farmers, producing views comparable to those of Watkins, Haggin chose Watkins because Watkins was already familiar with the area. See *Kern County Californian*, February 9, 1889.

6. For a description of Watkins' traveling habits, equipment, and companions, see the extensive correspondence between Watkins and his fiancee/wife beginning in March 1880 and continuing for several years thereafter. This material is in the Yosemite Valley Research Library, Yosemite Valley, California. Copies are also in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
7. *Kern County Californian*, July 7, 1888. The newspaper did not report Watkins' visit during the fall of 1887, an omission of some curiosity.
8. Ibid., July 21, 1888.
9. Watkins probably converted from the wet-plate collodian process to dry plates in the mid-1880s. Well informed of new photographic technologies, Watkins, for both competitive and artistic reasons, would not have ignored such a breakthrough as the dry plate.
10. Watkins probably toured with the same engineers and ranch managers who escorted him on his 1881 photographic reconnaissance of Haggin's irrigation works.
11. Weather information is from the *Kern County Californian*, July, August and September 1888. For Watkins' physical condition, see his correspondence with his wife, Yosemite Research Library.
12. Ralph Anderson, "Carleton E. Watkins, Pioneer Photographer of the Pacific Coast," *Yosemite Nature Notes*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (1953), p. 36. Although Anderson observes that the Kern County assignment was probably Watkins' last big commission, Watkins continued to photograph in 1890 and 1891, one of his last assignments consisting of 30 photographs made at the Golden Gate Mining claim near Oroville in Butte County, California. A description of the Golden Gate Mining Claim photography is found in Clarence F. McIntosh, "Carleton Watkins and the Golden Gate Mining Claims," *Butte County Historical Society Diggins*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1964), passim.
13. Some of these views appear only in one or two of the surviving albums of Bakersfield photographs: a few are mounted, single photographs with Watkins' embossed logo in the lower right corner. No two albums contain the same sequence of pictures—some emphasize farming; some emphasize Bakersfield; some contain no railroad views; some stress individual ranches. Watkins probably assembled each album for a different client, culling the images from his large portfolio. Of these pictures, the group portraits of ranchers and their families, including their Chinese cooks and hired hands, are the most surprising, for Watkins is not associated with portraiture. Reminiscent of the portraits made by frontier photographers, they capture the determination and family unity which sustained the early settlers of the southern San Joaquin Valley.
14. A photograph of irrigated alfalfa fields demonstrates Watkins' originality especially well. The eye moves between three reference points, traveling from the heads of the horses pulling his traveling wagon in the lower left corner, to the house near the horizon, across the flooded fields to a lone Chinese irrigator on the right, then back to the bottom of the picture. The result is a study in depth, scale, and flatness. Because the size of each object is known, the enormous expanse of the scene has added impact.
15. Interview with Peter Palmquist, April 24, 1981, in author's possession.
16. Watkins always made at least two photographs at any one place. Occasionally, at important sites, he executed as many as fifteen photographs, for example at the Calloway Canal.
17. Several of these photographs are distinctive. One shows the Great Barnyard at Lakeside Ranch. Capturing the flavor of a European peasant village, this early morning photograph, taken from the top of Watkins' wagon, surveys everything from ducks to ranch managers and field hands leaving with their mowers. Another notable picture of the beginning of the work day in the Great Barnyard at Poso ranch is both an inventory and a presentation of work relationships. The foreman and his assistants and their horses stand in the foreground, while thirteen workers, each handling a team of four horses, pose in the barnyard behind the foreman. For a third photograph, a portrait of a Kern County farm family on the porch in their cottage at Poso Ranch, Watkins stretched a dark cloth behind the group which provides a simple and undistracting background.
18. Watkins' exposure time can also be deduced from scenes of irrigation canals, where water has the soft appearance characteristic of a long exposure.
19. Although Watkins had used the elevated perspective since the early 1870s, it would not become common among other western photographers until the 1890s, when several Los Angeles-based photographic studios began employing the technique to photograph homes and buildings.
20. Most landscape photographers, of course, preferred early morning and late afternoon light because it produced shadows. Watkins did not always use this dramatic lighting, however, and his field photographs of threshing and ditch digging are all taken with the sun overhead and consequently with short shadows.
21. The best evidence of Watkins' presence is a beautiful picture of his traveling wagon parked on the bridge spanning Pio-

neer Canal. Throughout his career, Watkins often recorded evidence of his presence—his photographic tent, camera, or traveling wagon—as an autobiographic habit and as a way of lending scale and depth to his images.

22. Trimmed in size from 8 × 10 inches to 6¾ × 8⅝ inches, Watkins' prints have a rich, maroon-gold tint. The rag-board mounts are manilla colored and of fairly low acid content. There is chipping and fraying at the edges, but all the prints are securely attached. A few prints are scratched, and about one dozen are badly warped. Most boards have photographs mounted on both sides. Several dozen photographs are mounted on one side of cream-colored boards sporting an embossed "Watkins" logo in the lower right corner. Most (but not all) have titles, a number, a caption, a "Watkins New Series" title, and the address of his San Francisco studio.
23. A third possibility is that Watkins later copied his mammoth plates with his 8 × 10-inch dry-plate camera. This would explain why views of the Calloway Canal can be found in both mammoth plate and 8 × 10-inch plate size. See, for example, "The Calloway Canal, Near Headquarters of Poso Ranch," which measures 14 × 21 inches in one album at the Huntington Library and is reduced to 6¾ × 8⅝ inches in all other albums. This is true of other pictures as well, such as the display of Watkins' pictures on the wall of the Kern County Exhibit at the twenty-fourth Annual Mechanics' Institute Fair held in San Francisco in 1889.
24. *Kern County Californian*, September 1, 1888, citing the *Breeder and Sportsman*.
25. *Kern County Californian*, October 6, 1888; November 10, December 29, 1888; February 9, 1889.
26. Unidentified clipping, Kern County Clipping Files, Beale Memorial Library, Bakersfield, California. See also, *Kern County Californian*, April 2, 1892, which contains a 32-page supplement. Some of these ads were fraudulent, and they did not escape the ridicule of A.C. Maude, who exposed an 8-page spread which Haggin and Tevis ran in the San Luis Obispo's *San Miguel Messenger* on September 24, 1888. Advertising land in Monterey and San Luis Obispo counties a hundred miles to the west of Bakersfield, these ads contained several of Watkins' Kern County photographs captioned as typical ranching scenes along the California coast. "If the people of these two coast counties cannot show enough orange trees to look like a grove or grow sufficient alfalfa hay to make a respectable looking hay stack," observed Maude, "this county can furnish innumerable subjects for fine pictures, but Kern should have the proper credit." *Kern County Californian*, September 29, 1888.
27. *The Traveler*, January 1893, Clipping File, Beale Memorial Library.
28. Dana C. Pearson, *The Resources of California* (no publisher or place of publication), Beale Memorial Library, Bakersfield, California; Kern County Land Company, *The Greatest Irrigated Farm in the World* (San Francisco, 1893); *Tenneco West, Annual Report for 1976* (Bakersfield, 1976), p. 20.
29. Turrill, "Early California Photographer," p. 35. A few scholars and genealogists have used some of Watkins' photographs from the Tejon Ranch archives, though without Watkins' by-line. None of these researchers understood who Watkins was, nor did they suspect that his work was valuable as art and history. Consequently, word of the images never reached the photographic community, where research and writing about Watkins, long impeded by the destruction of his studio, negatives and business records in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and fire, focused almost exclusively on his well-known early views of Yosemite, Northern California, and Oregon.
30. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Lot 3379, holds 415 photographs, plus six maps; the Henry Huntington Library, San Marino, has 39 mammoth views; Beale Memorial Library, Bakersfield, has two albums and various unbound mounted photographs for a total of about 200 pictures; Pioneer Village/Kern County Museum, Bakersfield, also has one album, plus assorted unbound, mounted photographs totaling 150 images. The California Historical Society Library, San Francisco, has one album entitled *Pacific Coast Views*, which contains about a dozen Kern County images.
31. *Photographic Views of Kern County California*, 5 volumes (about 700 images), Tenneco West, Bakersfield, California.

Dana B. Young

The Voyage of the *Kanrin*

On March 17, 1860, the traditional St. Patrick's Day parade was already under way in San Francisco when a small sailing ship passed through the Golden Gate and made its way skillfully to the Vallejo Street wharf. It bore at its mainmast a flag of a sort no one in the city had ever seen before: a single bright red disc upon a pure white ground. Some of the men who ran to the wharf to see this strange sight at first may have guessed that the ship was bearing the embassy from Japan which was expected to touch at San Francisco on its way to Washington, D.C. But that embassy was supposed to arrive on board the U.S. Navy's powerful steam frigate, the *Powhatan*, a modern warship with heavy guns. *This* little craft—a bark-rigged corvette, carrying only a few small guns, and a little 100-horsepower steam-driven propeller for maneuvering in port—bore no resemblance to the giant American steamer.

Soon the local reporters who clambered aboard the little ship spotted a group of Americans among the large crew of Japanese.[1] Their leader was a young naval lieutenant from Virginia, John Mercer Brooke. He had been in command of a surveying expedition that had been shipwrecked off Yokohama late in 1859 just at the time the Japanese government had been looking for an experienced pilot who could assist the Japanese crew to sail to California. Brooke had readily assented to the Japanese government's request that he accompany the ship, and he had chosen nine crewmen from his own wrecked expedition, plus a civilian draftsman, E.M. Kern (for whom Kern County and the Kern River in California were named), to return with him.

Now in San Francisco, Lieutenant Brooke and the other Americans explained the unheralded presence of the ship in the bay. According to Brooke, the ship's name was *Kanrin Maru* (he spelled it "Candinmarruh"); it had been built by the Dutch and bought by the Japanese in 1857. Dispatched as a kind of vanguard or escort to the official ambassadorial party that would arrive later on board the *Powhatan*, it had made the crossing of the Pacific from Japan to California in thirty-seven days non-stop.

In charge of the Japanese aboard the *Kanrin Maru* was an imposing samurai official, Kimura Yoshitake, whom Lieutenant Brooke identified as an "admiral", that is, a naval officer of the same rank as Admiral Matthew C. Perry who had opened Japan to the West in 1854. Kimura's title in Japanese meant "Magistrate of Warships", a fair equivalent of "Admiral," but he also held a post in the Japanese civil government as governor of Settsu. Perhaps because of the difficulty of romanizing his lengthy name and titles, he was usually referred to as Admiral Kimura in local newspaper reports. Had anything prevented the ambassadors on the *Powhatan* from traveling to Washington, it would have been Kimura's duty to proceed to the U.S. capital to complete the diplomatic mission: an exchange of ratifications of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce already signed in Japan in 1858.

Kimura was not the captain of the *Kanrin Maru*; that post was held by another samurai who later became the chief architect of the Imperial Japanese Navy, Katsu Rintarō. Katsu, although a man of great capacity, had suffered terribly from seasickness during the voyage, and the day-to-day business of running the ship had been delegated to the junior officers and their American advisers. In fact, except for the official interpreter, Nakahama Manjirō, who had been educated in Massachusetts through the kindness of an American captain and had sailed in American whaling vessels, none of the Japanese crew had ever been on a sea-going voyage.

The ship had almost met a violent end in the fierce

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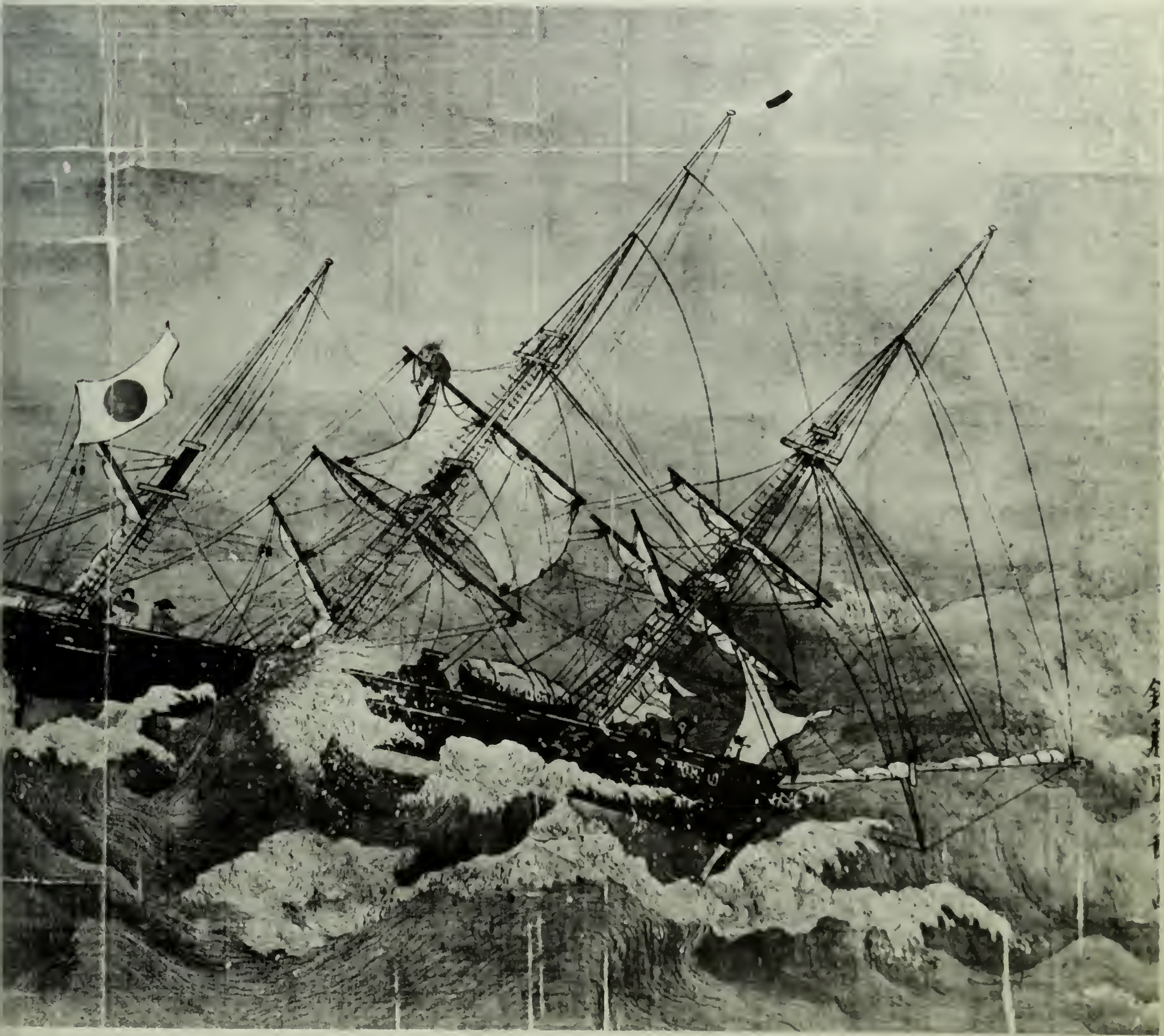
Maru to San Francisco, 1860



Built by the Dutch and purchased by the Japanese in 1857, the Kanrin Maru *nearly sank in a fierce storm off the coast of Japan. Piloted by an American shipwrecked in Japan and manned by Japanese sailors, the bark-rigged corvette was the vanguard of the first official party of Japanese to travel to the United States.* Painting by crew member Suzufuji Yujiro, reproduced in Tanaka Kazusada, *Man'en Gannen Kembei Shisetsu Zuroku* (Tokyo, 1920) storm that began as soon as it had left port in Yokohama. The Japanese crewmen were inexperienced in navigation, and their samurai pride would not let them take orders from Manjirō, a fisherman's son. Eventually, the tactful Lieutenant Brooke, together with Manjirō, managed to teach them common shipboard customs and etiquette, so that by the time the ship reached San Francisco, Lieutenant Brooke could report to his superiors in Washington that "they are now competent to manage their vessel."[2] The local reporters were impressed by the cleanliness of the ship and the neat, even "elegant" dress of the sailors.[3]

Among Kimura's suite of retainers was a well-mannered young samurai who was probably unnoticeable among the other sword-bearing Japanese officers. Yet this young man (he was only 25 years old), whose name was Fukuzawa Yukichi, was destined to become known throughout the world as the foremost intellectual of early modern Japan. Although he knew some Dutch and a few words of English, he probably found it difficult to understand the rapid speech of the Americans and may have preferred to let Manjirō carry on most of the conversations with the citizens of San Francisco. In later years Fukuzawa recalled this visit to the United States as one of the most exciting times of his life. The impressions of Western science and culture he was gathering at this time were to develop into a philosophy of "enlightenment", a firm conviction that Japan could only become a strong nation by adapting the best of its native culture to Western technology. Through the school he later founded in Edo (Tokyo) which became the modern Keiō University and through his copious writings about the West and Japan's future which were read by countless Japanese, he would become without question the single most influential member of the *Kanrin Maru*'s crew.

Meanwhile, the citizens of San Francisco in 1860 were delighted at what they believed to be the presence in their city of envoys who had come directly from the court of the emperor of Japan. In fact, Kimura and the other Japanese would have been considered of relatively low rank at home. Furthermore, they were not representatives of the emperor in Kyoto, but rather of the shōgun, the military dictator, whose government was centered in Edo. No one in San Francisco, however, understood the complexities of Japanese politics at this time, and the town was eager only to shake hands all around.

The day after the *Kanrin Maru*'s arrival, the president of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, Henry F. Teschemacher, together with some other members of the board, paid a formal call on the Japanese admiral in the harbor and invited him on a tour of the city. This he was quite willing to do, but only if proper attention were paid to his rank: he insisted that he would ride to shore only with Teschemacher—whose rank within the city government might vaguely be considered equivalent to his own—but with no one else. The argument over who was to ride with whom went on for half an hour until Kimura was persuaded to accept a sort of compromise by which he rode with the president in one boat and each of his officers was paired with one member of the board in another.

Kimura's concern with what the *San Francisco Bulletin* called "*etiquette*, which almost stands in the place of a State religion with the Japanese,"[4] was a source of amusement to the Americans, who did not grasp the significance of Kimura's reaction. The admiral was the first accredited ambassador from Japan ever to set foot on American soil; he was aware that he must make a good impression upon his hosts, but he could not allow his proper dignity as an ambassador to be slighted. Indeed, it seems that throughout the visit to the San Francisco area, the Japanese were striving, sometimes painfully, to discover a method of dealing with the Americans who were a com-

These simple navigational instruments of Dutch manufacture enabled the largely inexperienced Japanese sailors to reach San Francisco harbor in thirty-seven days, an event which took the city by surprise. Reproduced in Tanaka Kazusada, *Man'en Gannen Kembei Shisetsu Zuroku*

pletely unknown element to the Japanese. The Americans, on the other hand, viewed the visitors with a sort of boisterous, though good natured friendliness, occasionally with downright condescension, but usually without the vicious racial bias that was to become common by the early years of the twentieth century.[5]

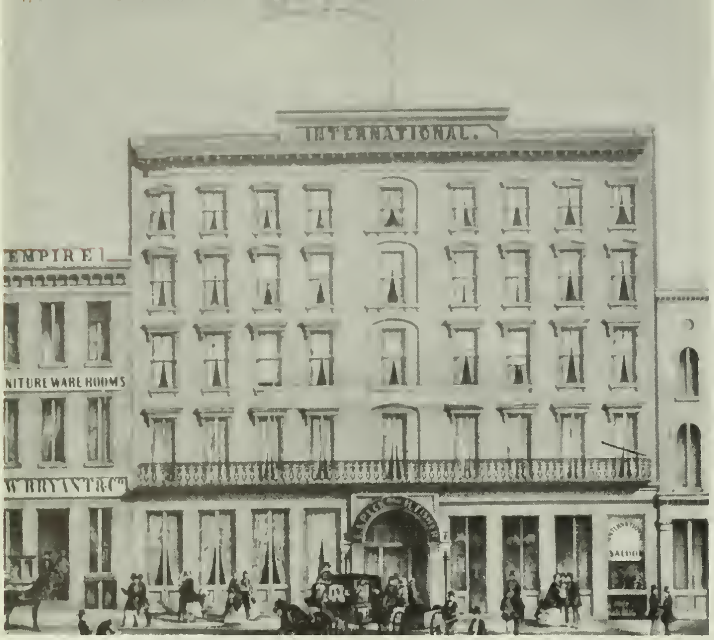
Once on shore in San Francisco the Japanese party moved to the International Hotel where a reception had been arranged. This may have been the occasion of one of Fukuzawa's most fascinating recollections, contained in his memoirs dictated some forty years after the event. He recalled the surprise he felt on discovering that the Americans used horses to draw carriages, since at that time in Japan horses were not used as draft animals. Even more shocking was the strange American habit of walking on carpets with shoes.

> All of us wore the usual pair of swords at our sides and the hemp sandals. So attired, we were taken to the modern hotel. There we noticed, covering the interior, the valuable carpets which in Japan only the more wealthy could buy from importers' shops at so much a square inch to make purses and tobacco pouches with. Here the carpet was laid over an entire room—something quite astounding—and upon this costly fabric walked our hosts wearing the shoes with which they had come in from the streets! We followed them in our hemp sandals.[6]

During this same reception, the governor of California, John G. Downey, strolled into the International Hotel, apparently without warning or formal announcement. When he was presented to Kimura, the admiral at first refused to believe interpreter Manjirō's introduction, and it took the added assurances of Lieutenant Brooke to convince him that the unassuming gentleman in street clothes was in fact the governor of the state.

Following the reception, a tour of the rest of the city was conducted for the Japanese. They were taken up and down Montgomery Street, past all the hotels and churches, and eventually to Steamboat Point where a large steam-driven passenger ferry, the *Chrysopolis*, was under construction. The details of the ship's construction fascinated them. "A few minutes sufficed to express their surprise," reported the *Bulletin*, "and then dividing into companies, they fell to sketching her whole frame, drafting the form of the timbers, taking measurements of every part, so that when they went on board [the *Kanrin Maru*], they had the materials for reconstructing at home her counterpart."[7] Had the Americans reflected that steamships in the shape of Perry's squadron had given the Japanese their first inkling of the power of the Western world's weaponry, they might have found the Japanese desire to take down the *Chrysopolis*'s measurements somewhat less remarkable.

After a walk to the top of Rincon Hill, then the most fashionable residential section of the city, and dinner at the International Hotel, the Japanese were escorted back to their ship. As the precursor of the requisite city tour for modern Japanese visitors to San Francisco, this event has some minor historical importance. (Much that was commented upon about the Japanese tourists of 1860 by the press is characteristic of many of today's tourists from Japan: their fondness for travel in groups, their unbounded curiosity, their desire to "take the measurements of every



During a reception at San Francisco's new and elegant International Hotel on Jackson Street between Montgomery and Kearny, the Japanese visitors marvelled that Americans laid valuable carpets over the floors of entire rooms—and then walked on them with shoes worn on the muddy streets outside. 1856 lithograph by B.F. Butler, 17 × 18", CHS Fine Arts Collection

(Facing page) Representing the Shogun or military dictator of Edo (modern Tokyo), not the Emperor in Kyoto, many of the official visitors were samurai, who posed with their swords for this photograph. Seated at right is the youthful Fukuzawa Yukichi, destined to become the foremost intellectual of early modern Japan. Reproduced in Tanaka Kazusada, *Man'en Gannen Kembei Shisetsu Zuroku*

part"—today by means of the camera, not the artist's brush—and perhaps also their reluctance to attempt extensive communication in English.[8])

In 1860 the ladies of San Francisco were anxious to meet the visitors who were the talk of the town, but Admiral Kimura was adamantly set against allowing them onboard the *Kanrin Maru*. "Our visitors do not appreciate the sex," claimed the *Bulletin*. "They could not think of letting a dainty female foot tread their deck. This is owing to a misapprehension of the social rank of females among us. Lieutenant Brooke has, up to this time, failed to convince them that there are hooped and bonneted beauties among us who stand as high as President Teschemacher or Governor Downey."[9] The "misapprehension" was held on both sides, of course. Fukuzawa, who counted among his most revolutionary proposals the liberation of the Japanese woman from traditional servitude to males, later recalled how difficult it was for the Japanese to contain their laughter when they first witnessed the American "ladies and gentlemen . . . hopping about the room together" at a dance.[10]

Eager that the Japanese have a good first impression of the United States, the Board of Supervisors decided to hold an official reception for the Japanese at the supervisors' expense in their chambers in City Hall across from Portsmouth Square. The Japanese were given only one day's notice of the event, but the admiral, somewhat reluctantly, accepted, and the reception was held on Tuesday, March 22, in the midst of a cold, pouring rain. "The weather is not to-day a thing to boast about," editorialized the *Bulletin* that day. "We hope our Japanese guests will not imagine it to be a part of their reception, or go home reporting that we are a very windy people."[11]

Once inside the chambers, the Japanese were seated awkwardly on chairs and welcomed in a short address by President Teschemacher, with Manjirō interpreting. The Americans were much impressed by the lack of "glitter" in the clothes the Japanese wore, for although Kimura and his staff were in the equivalent of full dress uniform, they looked plain to American eyes. Everyone who had managed to squeeze into the densely packed room then came up to be introduced: army officers, city officials, representatives of the press, and others including the "Secretary of the Pacific Railroad Association." Manjirō stood next to the admiral, doing his best to keep up with the bewildering array of introductions.

How Manjirō managed to convey the sense of "Pacific Railroad Association" can only be speculated upon. The closest thing to a railroad yet seen by the Japanese had been a small scale-model engine and cars set up by the members of Perry's expedition on the beach near Yokohama in 1854 as a gift for the emperor, and it is hard to believe that the Japanese,

who had been in San Francisco for barely five days, could have had any appreciation of railroads or what they were supposed to do for California's economy. Nevertheless, however Manjirō explained it, the admiral appeared satisfied; "They all looked intelligent, curious and gratified," commented the *Bulletin*.

After the introductions, Teschemacher slowly read out the text of a series of resolutions passed earlier by the Board of Supervisors and beautifully inscribed on a roll of parchment. The resolutions, full of "whereas's" and "be it resolved's," expressed the city's appreciation for the visit of admiral Kimura and the *Kanrin Maru* and the general thanks for bringing Lieutenant Brooke and his fellow American crewmen back to their homeland. "Although the strangers did not understand all that was said to them," observed the *Bulletin*, "they were very polite, and seemed to."

The Americans of course had no way of knowing how much was really understood. As a matter of fact, it is most unlikely that even Manjirō could have managed the difficult feat of translating at sight a text of such surpassing pomposity. Yet the American hosts seemed to believe that the Japanese understood almost everything, and in this they were as much deceived by their own wishful thinking as by the aplomb of their guests. The reporter for the *San Francisco Daily Alta California* waxed exceedingly enthusiastic about this reception and wrote:

> The reception of these men from another quarter of the globe, the bearers of good-will, friendship, and the pioneers of the long coveted intercourse with that mysterious Japan, of which all have read, but about which we know so little as yet—their reception, we say, was not of course on the scale of magnificence with which our own Embassy [*i.e.*, Perry's expedition] was met in the Japanese Empire; but, nevertheless, the fraternal feelings, and the expressions of respect and kindness were equally cordial and understood. Though the Japanese have for ages, in their Oriental exclusiveness, associated gorgeous display and splendor with occasions of importance, these visitors being educated men, have the intelligence to understand the nature of our democratic institutions, and fully appreciated this cordial though unostentatious occasion.[12]

Why else would the Japanese ambassadors come to the United States, this reporter went on, if it were not "to convey more real knowledge of our country to the Japanese Emperor and authorities than years of writing or visiting of our citizens to their shores?" It never occurred to anyone in San Francisco, or elsewhere in America at the time, that Japan might be a competitive threat to the United States' interests, commercial or military. Besides, so the reasoning appears to have gone, since the Japanese were so interested in learning from American models of military hardware and mechanical marvels, it seemed natural that they should want to know about political models as well.

When the reception in City Hall ended, the Japanese were taken to a dinner at Job's restaurant and ice cream saloon on Washington Street across from Portsmouth Square. "Cold turkey, cold game, salads, ice creams, Charlotte Russe, all manner of dainty confectionary, and champagne loaded the table," according to the newspapers. The Japanese probably found all of this most unpalatable, but they did their best to make their hosts think they liked it.

Toasts were proposed and drunk in the accepted fashion of the day—standing and with three cheers after each toast. When Teschemacher proposed the health of the emperor of Japan and the president of the United States, in that order, Kimura, always a stickler for matters of politeness and precedence, replied that it was unthinkable the emperor's name should precede that of the president. So Kimura then proposed "the health of the President of the United States and the Emperor of Japan—the President's name first. . . . Loud cheers followed this significant sentiment." More toasts were drunk to progress, friendship between the nations, the Pacific Railroad, the press, and the healths of practically everyone in the room. The Japanese, who must have been bewildered by this strange ceremony, politely announced at 4:30 PM that they would return to the *Kanrin Maru*, which was scheduled to go to the Naval Yard at Mare Island the next day for drydocking and repairs. As the Japanese departed, their hosts insisted they carry with them little paper bags filled with candy from Job's.

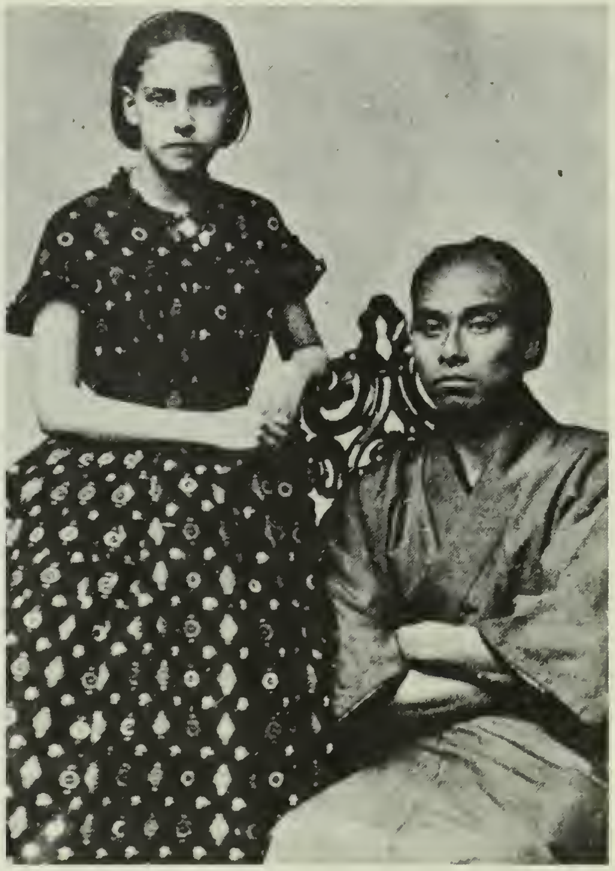
The *Kanrin Maru*, however, was not transferred to Mare Island until the second day after the reception at City Hall. The delay may have been occasioned by the death of Gennosuke, one of the *Kanrin Maru*'s sailors, on the day of the reception. (His grave, together with those of two other members of the ship's crew, is now located in Colma.)

When the Japanese finally arrived at the Mare Island Navy Yard, they were pleasantly surprised to learn that they would not be expected to pay for any repairs to their ship. The American officer in command at Mare Island, Commodore Robert B. Cunningham, told Admiral Kimura that the country was too large and communications too slow for him to receive orders from Washington on how to handle the matter. Accordingly, he took it upon himself to offer the Japanese every possible service, free of charge, since he knew "our government and people desired to cultivate the most friendly relations with Japan."[13] The *Kanrin Maru* was then taken up out of the water—the Japanese, who had no drydocking facilities at home, marveled at how easily it could be done—and it was soon discovered that extensive repairs would be necessary.

At Mare Island Naval Yard, the Japanese were housed in two of the brick buildings: one, surrounded by a garden, was for the admiral and his staff, and the other was for the sailors. For the greater part of two months the Japanese had been crowded together on board their small ship, and this opportunity to get out of their narrow quarters and live on land was enthusiastically welcomed.

Numerous references in local papers during the *Kanrin Maru*'s stay at Mare Island make it evident that many of the Japanese frequently visited San Francisco aboard one of the several steam cutters then plying the stretch of bay between Benicia, Vallejo and San Francisco. Fukuzawa's memoirs indicate that he must have walked the streets of San Francisco, seeing

Fukuzawa visited the daguerrian gallery of William Shew where the photographer's daughter Theodora "boldly" agreed to stand next to the Japanese visitor. Fukuzawa Yukichi, *The Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa* rev. translation Eiichi Kiyooka (New York, 1966)



the sights of the strange foreign city and probably attracting stares and curious comments from all sides.

On one such trip to the city, a party of "officers" from the *Kanrin Maru* went to Maguire's Opera House on Washington Street above Montgomery where they witnessed a production of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, with Mr. J.B. Howe playing the title role. The reviewer for the *Bulletin* happened to be in the house that evening and observed that the Japanese "seemed to regard with interest the progress of the play."[14] This may be the first recorded instance of a performance of a play by Shakespeare witnessed by a Japanese audience. We do not know if Fukuzawa was among the Japanese in the audience; at any rate, it is certain that the Japanese would have understood almost nothing of the language.

Joshua Norton, the "Emperor Norton I," San Francisco's most famous and amiable eccentric, was also in the house that evening. What the Japanese may have thought of this strange personage in full naval uniform was unfortunately not recorded.

On March 29, the morning after this performance, the *Powhatan*, bearing the official Japanese ambassadors from the Shōgun, steamed into San Francisco Bay. It paused at San Francisco only long enough for a deputation from the city government to go on board and offer a welcome to California. Then it went up to Mare Island, where it was greeted by Admiral Kimura and the American naval officials who had been notified in advance of its arrival by telegraph—another marvel to the Japanese.

The presence of this second group of ambassadors from Japan in San Francisco was again a source of much excitement, and the San Francisco city government sponsored another more elaborate reception for these latest arrivals. Katsu Rintarō is the only member of the *Kanrin Maru*'s crew mentioned by the press as attending this reception, and Fukuzawa's autobiography gives no hint as to his own presence or absence. Yet it is probably to this time, or thereabouts, that we may date the most interesting document to have been produced by the Japanese presence in San Francisco that year. This is a photograph of Fukuzawa Yukichi and a young American girl, taken on a rainy day probably not long before or after the reception for the ambassadors. Fukuzawa's own account of his sitting for this photograph reads:

> The girl was really the daughter of the photographer; she was fifteen, as I remember hearing. On the day I went to the photographer's, where on a previous day we had been for some pictures, it was raining, and I went all alone. As I was going to sit, I saw the girl in the studio. I said suddenly, "Let us have our picture taken together." She immediately said, "All right," being an American girl and thinking nothing of it. So she came and stood by me.[15]

Since Fukuzawa apparently did not remember the girl's name nor that of the photographer, she has remained anonymous—until recently. However, an article published in the Spring 1977 issue of *California History* supplies information which makes a positive identification possible.[16] Her name was Theodora Alice Shew, and she was the only child of William Shew, one of the pioneers of the daguerreotype in America. William Shew had come to San Francisco in 1851 where he remained until his death in 1903. In 1860 his "daguerrian gallery" was located at 113 Montgomery Street, only a block away from the location of the grand reception for the Japanese ambassadors. His daughter, known affectionately as "Dora," was born in 1849 and would therefore have been in her eleventh or twelfth year at the time of Fukuzawa's visit. (His belief that she was "fifteen" can probably be attributed to a lapse of memory.) Fukuzawa preserved the daguerreotype as one of his most prized possessions from the United States. After his death it passed to his heirs and was eventually presented to the Library of Keiō University in Tokyo where it remains to this day, contained in its original casing. On this frame are the words: "WM. SHEW, 113 MONTG'Y. ST. SAN FRANCISCO."[17]

The only other souvenir that Fukuzawa records having brought home from San Francisco was a copy of Webster's *Dictionary*:

> Before we sailed, the interpreter, Nakahama, and I each bought a copy of Webster's dictionary. This, I know, was the first importation of Webster's into Japan. Once I had secured this valuable work, I felt no disappointment on leaving the new world and returning home again.[18]

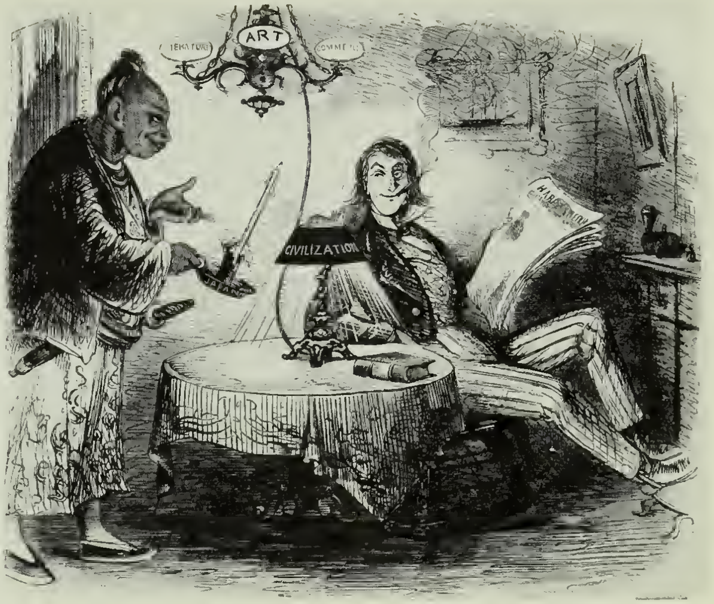
On April 7, the *Powhatan* departed San Francisco bearing the Japanese ambassadors on the next stage of their journey via the Isthmus of Panama to Washington. After meeting President James Buchanan in Washington and completing the exchange of ratifications of the Treaty of 1858, the Japanese returned to their homeland via the Cape of Good Hope, arriving on November 9, 1860.

Meanwhile, the crew of the *Kanrin Maru* remained on Mare Island with its ship and continued to visit San Francisco from time to time. Although there were a few instances of misunderstanding between the Japanese and some American shopkeepers—on at least two occasions Americans claimed they had been cheated by Japanese trying to pass gold-plated silver coins as solid gold—most San Franciscans maintained a friendly attitude toward the Japanese.

By all accounts the most uproarious result of the visit of the Japanese to San Francisco must have been the theatrical extravaganza called *The Japanese Embassy*, billed as a "grand operatic Ethiopian spectacle" and first performed on the evening of April 27 at Minstrel Hall on Montgomery near Washington Street. The *Alta California* carried a review of the first performance:

> *The Japanese Embassy*—This new musical extravaganza was produced last night at Minstrel Hall, before a large and fashionable audience. The piece abounds in wit, humor, and good music, and has been gotten up in a style that would do credit to [a] much larger establishment. The last scene is a perfect gem, representing the harbor of Jeddo and the American fleet, under Commodore Perry, entering the port, the vesels are all full rigged, and are working models. . . .[19]

It would appear from this description that *The Japanese Embassy* was a hodgepodge of song and dance routines, combined with broad jokes—some, no doubt, at the expense of the Japanese—and elaborate sets in which the U.S. Navy under Commodore Perry entered the Bay of Edo in the final scene and opened up isolationist Japan to the world. At any rate, *The Japanese Embassy* was a depiction of the American expedition to Japan in 1853-54, not the 1860 Japanese embassy to the United States, and it was the Americans, not the Japanese, who were portrayed in a favorable light. The theatrical value of the piece was probably very slight by modern standards,



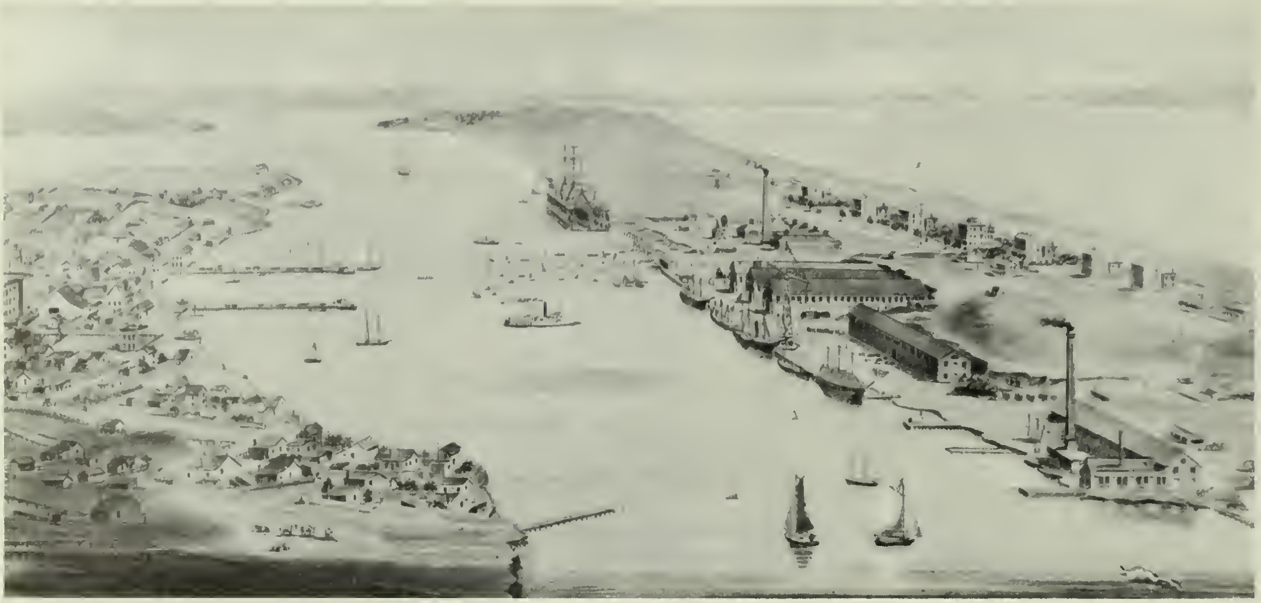
Americans believed the Japanese visit represented the isolationist country's new interest in learning about "civilization" as well as mechanical inventions. That Japan would eventually become a competitor was inconceivable. Harper's Weekly, June 2, 1860

and despite the rave notices published in the papers, there is no record of a performance after May 7, the day before the *Kanrin Maru* set out on its return to Japan.

The *Kanrin Maru* returned to Clarke's Point in San Francisco on May 1 with a new set of sails, two new masts, and a new coat of paint inside and out. Six days later, just before the ship was to sail, Katsu Rintarō and two other Japanese were escorted to a meeting of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, no doubt a somewhat baffling experience for the Japanese. The *Alta California*'s reporter thought that many of the Japanese could now "maintain a little conversation in English, though somewhat broken."[20] It is not likely, however, that the three who attended the supervisors' meeting could have had much notion of the sort of problems under consideration that evening or, indeed, of the political philosophy that underlay this democratic institution. The *Herald* reported that since they understood little or nothing despite some attempts to interpret what was going on, they must have been "amused at the earnest oratorical efforts of several members. With the greatest good breeding they managed to restrain their mirth and took the entertainment in good part."[21]

Kimura's original intention was that the *Kanrin Maru* would carry back to Japan the news of the ambassadors' safe arrival in Washington, but the admiral had learned that the difficulties in communications and the vast distances such information would have to travel were too great to delay his departure any longer. The Americans took his insistence on a departure *before* anyone in San Francisco could have known of the mission's arrival in Washington as a high compliment to themselves, since it "removed the only means they possessed of communication to the Japanese Government the safety of their high dignitaries and countrymen in the United States, and the result of the Embassy."[22]

On the morning of May 8, the *Kanrin Maru* steamed out of San Francisco Bay, saluting the president of the United States through his symbolic presence at the Presidio with twenty-one guns and receiving a like salute in reply. Ten of the *Kanrin Maru*'s crew remained sick in one of the city's hospitals. (They were returned to Japan in August after they had recovered.) Perhaps partly to replace these men, the Japanese took along five Americans, all former members of Lieutenant Brooke's surveying crew. This time, however, the actual navigation and engineering of the ship were entirely in the hands of the Japanese. Furthermore, the Japanese decided that the return voyage would be made via Hawaii, a different route from the one used by Lieutenant Brooke. Obviously the Japanese were confident this time that they could go it alone.



The ship reached Honolulu on May 23, fifteen days from San Francisco. Leaving the islands on May 26, it had returned to Kanagawa, where the long voyage had begun four months earlier, by June 24.

Viewed with the perspective of more than 120 years, the voyage of the *Kanrin Maru* may seem to be little more than a curious episode in the history of the early diplomatic contacts between Japan and the United States. The Japanese mission of 1860 was understandably forgotten in the Civil War years which followed, and most Americans today know nothing of the event. The average modern Japanese is likely to recognize the name "*Kanrin Maru*" (it has a romantic aura, thanks to dramatizations on television) and to know something of Katsu Rintarō (better known to his countrymen as Katsu Kaishū) and Fukuzawa Yukichi, the only members of the *Kanrin Maru*'s crew who distinguished themselves after the ship's return to Japan. Admiral Kimura spent the remainder of his life out of the public eye, while in America, Lieutenant Brooke may be remembered because of his active influence upon Confederate naval strategy during the War Between the States, not for his part in the *Kanrin Maru*'s voyage.

Despite the lack of any lasting political repercussions of the *Kanrin Maru*'s visit to California—it was, after all, meant primarily as a symbolic gesture—the incident has more than mere passing interest. Fukuzawa's memories of the journey were very vivid; he never forgot the warmth of the reception he received in San Francisco and never doubted his belief that Japan had much to learn from the West. The modern Japanese visitor to San Francisco, whether he is aware of it or not, is treading in the footsteps of great and famous men. There were later, and larger, embassies to the United States that passed through San Francisco, and Fukuzawa himself returned on one of them in 1867. All had their beginning in the visit of the *Kanrin Maru*.

Even in 1860, some Americans recognized that the presence of the Japanese offered the promise of future rewards:

> No man can form too exalted an estimation of the magnitude of the results that are to grow out of this intercourse. Most especially are these results to be of a magnificent character for California, for it is a prophecy that many of those now among us will live to see fulfilled—when we say that the day will come when the iron horse, lashed to the long train of railway carriages, shall take up the products and manufactures of Japan from our docks and warehouses, and set forth with the rich freight to the borders of the other great ocean.[23]

Although the heady evangelistic rhetoric should not lead to a dismissal of the suffering and injustice that the next century was to bring to Japanese-Americans, the truth is that the promised day did come in its

At Mare Island Navy Yard northeast of San Francisco, the Japanese were astonished to learn about drydock facilities and the ease with which extensive ship repairs could be made. Lithograph c. 1860 by C. B. Gifford, CHS *Fine Arts* Collection

time, though in a fashion undreamed of by anyone in 1860. The lasting value of the crowded little ship's voyage is best revealed in the aura of friendship that still speaks through the portrait of Dora Shew and Fukuzawa Yukichi.

Notes

1. The sources are not in agreement on the number of Japanese on board the *Kanrin Maru*. The reporter for the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* counted a total of 88 (March 19, 1860). Other figures range between 57 and 104 Japanese.
2. Lieutenant Brooke to Isaac Toucey, Secretary of the Navy, March 20, 1860; *New York Times*, April 17, 1860, p. 2.
3. *San Francisco Daily Bulletin*, March 19, 1860.
4. Ibid.
5. While this *seems* to have been the prevailing attitude in San Francisco, the Japanese who went on to Washington, D.C., were sometimes subjected to worse treatment.
6. Fukuzawa Yukichi, *The Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa*, rev. trans. Eiichi Kiyooka (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), p. 108. This passage has also been translated in Masao Miyoshi, *As We Saw Them, The First Japanese Embassy to the United States (1860)*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 33.
7. *Bulletin*, March 19, 1860.
8. See Miyoshi, *As We Saw Them*, pp. 183-186, for a discussion of modern Japanese tourism and its historical roots.
9. *Bulletin*, March 21, 1860, p. 3.
10. *Bulletin*, March 22, 1860, p. 3.
11. This account of the reception here and in the following paragraphs is based on the account in the *Bulletin*, March 23, 1860, p.3.
12. *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, March 23, 1860, p. 1.
13. *Alta California*, March 27, 1860, p. 1.
14. *Bulletin*, March 29, 1860, p. 3.
15. Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, pp. 119-120.
16. Wendy Cunkle Calmenson, " 'Likenesses Taken in the Most Approved Style': William Shew, Pioneer Daguerreotypist," *California History*, Spring, 1977, pp. 2-19.
17. *Nichi-Bei Shūkō Tsūshō Hyakunen Kinen Gyoji Un'eikai* [Association For Japan-U.S. Amity and Trade Centennial] ed., *Man'en Gannen Kembei Shisetsu Shiryō Shūsei* [Collected Documents of the Japanese Mission to America 1860] (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1960-1961), 7: 313. The daguerreotype measures 8.8 cm. × 6.4 cm., and the frame is 11.8 cm. × 9.3 cm.
18. Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, p. 117.
19. *Alta California*, April 28, 1860, p. 2.
20. *Alta California*, May 6, 1860, p. 1.
21. Quoted in *Man'en Gannen* . . . , 6:78.
22. *Herald*, May 9, 1860, quoted in *Man'en Gannen* . . . , 6:79.
23. *Alta California*, March 30, 1860, p. 2.

Suggestions for Further Reading

No study of the first Japanese diplomatic mission to the United States can begin without Masao Miyoshi's *As We Saw Them* (Berkeley, 1979). This is by far the most satisfying and best treatise on the topic yet published. Professor Miyoshi's work combines historical scholarship of the highest order with fascinating insights on the social, psychological, and philosophical background of both the Japanese and the Western participants.

The best short factual account of the entire mission, including the role of the *Kanrin Maru*, is found in Allan B. Cole, "Japan's First Embassy to the United States, 1860," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. xxxii, No. 2 (April, 1941), pp. 131-166. George Hinkle, "Samurai in San Francisco, the Japanese Embassy of 1860," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (December, 1944), pp. 335-347, contains several errors of fact and mistaken romanization of Japanese names, although it quotes from an otherwise unpublished contemporary American diary. Nakahama Manjirō's role in the voyage from Japan to California aboard the *Kanrin Maru* is the subject of Emily V. Warriner, "The Ordeal of the *Kanrin Maru*," *American Heritage*, Vol. XIV, No. 5 (August, 1963), pp. 95-97. Manjirō has two biographies in English: Emily V. Warriner, *Voyager to Destiny* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1956), and Kaneko Hisakazu, *Manjirō, The Man Who Discovered America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1956). Lieutenant John M. Brooke's complete journal of the voyage from Japan (some parts of which are quoted *in extenso* in Warriner's short article in *American Heritage*) is found in Vol. 5 of the Japanese publication of collected documents pertaining to the mission of 1860, cited in note 17.

There is much information on the U.S. Navy's presence in the Pacific in the mid-nineteenth century in Allan B. Cole, *Yankee Surveyors in the Shogun's Seas: Records of the United States Surveying Expedition to the North Pacific Ocean, 1853-56* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947). Robert V. Hine, *Edward Kern and American Expansion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962) details the little-known presence of E.M. Kern aboard the *Kanrin Maru*.

Carmen Blacker, *The Japanese Enlightenment* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1964) is a study of Fukuzawa Yukichi's thought and its debt to Western culture.

Lastly, the best general treatment of Japan's emergence into the modern world remains George B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (New York: Knopf, 1949).

J.H. Hildebrand

Duelling Skis

Isolated through long winter months by the deep snow of the Sierra Nevada, Norwegian settlers and miners introduced skiing to California's mountain communities in the 1850s. Called snowshoeing (rather than the Norwegian, "ski-ing"), the means of communication soon became a celebrated form of diversion in remote Plumas, Sierra, and Alpine counties. Money changed hands before and during downhill racing events—perhaps the first ski tournaments held in the United States—and alchemical formulas for "dope," the equivalent of modern ski waxes, were developed in greatest secrecy by ardent competitors.

In 1868, a particularly well-attended contest between towns took place at Howland's Flat. The report of the events in local papers—and possibly the size of the purse—prompted John A. "Snowshoe" Thompson and the Alpine County boys to publicly call the young men of Sierra County to "take up the gauntlet or forever hold their peace." In response, Thompson, who was famed for carrying 100-pound sacks of mail over the Sierra Nevada in the dead of winter, was blasted in a letter (first printed in the Alpine Chronicle *and reprinted in the* Sacramento Daily Union*) which disdainfully declined his challenge.*

The following account of the heated exchange suggests that California's mountain dwellers, who developed ardent local loyalties, had ample hours to master the art of verbal putdown. The story of the dueling skiis appeared in J.H. Hildebrand's "History of Ski-ing in California," printed in the 1939 issue of The British Ski Year Book. *—Editor*

Ski were first used in California to maintain communication over the great barrier presented by the Sierra Nevada in winter. This range is a huge block, 300 miles long and 80 miles wide, tilted up to as much as 14,500 feet along its eastern boundary, with main passes at 7,000 to 11,000 feet. The Spanish explorers well named it the "Snowy Range," for the prevailing westerly winds, laden with moisture from the Pacific Ocean, deposit huge masses of snow in winter. The mean depth on Donner Pass, the most travelled route, is 10 feet in February, with 27 feet on record. Three feet of snow frequently falls in twenty-four hours, and the average seasonal snowfall is 408 inches. Roads, unless artificially cleared, are usually impassable for six months. During the years of the Gold Rush, Central California was without land communication to the east all the winter, and many mining settlements were isolated for months. A way to overcome this vast snow barrier was shown by John A. Thompson in 1856. This son of Vikings was born in Norway at Upper Tins, Prestijeld, April 30, 1827. He came to America with his parents at the age of ten. The gold fever brought him to California in 1851, but he soon gave up mining and became a rancher in the Sacramento Valley.

Having learned of the difficulties in the way of delivering mail during the winter, he bethought him of the ski he had seen while a youngster in Norway and fashioned himself a pair out of oak. His recollections of design were in the main correct, but his ski were 10 feet long, 4½ inches wide in front, 4 inches in the rear, and weighed 25 lb. Their weight did not deter him, however, as he was a man of powerful physique, 6 feet tall and weighing 180 lb. His ski were held in place by broad leather toe straps nailed to the ski and a wooden piece under the instep. A single long pole, some 6 feet long, was used for propelling and steering. It was held horizontally in both hands during straight descent.

California's earliest "snowshoes" were as long as ten to fifteen feet and weighed as much as twenty-five pounds. In this early Sierra view published by Lawrence & Houseworth of San Francisco, two men demonstrate different positions for Nordic or cross-country traveling.
CHS, San Francisco

He quickly developed skill in the mastery of these ski and engaged himself to carry mail over the Sierra from Murphy's, near the Calaveras Grove, to Carson Valley in Nevada, 90 miles distant. Carrying loads of from 60 to 100 lb., he usually made the trip eastbound in three days; westbound, on account of long down grades, in two. He at once became a necessity and continued this service for twenty winters. He carried no blankets, but slept in a cave or an abandoned cabin, or simply on a bed of boughs before a fire. When a blizzard overtook him with no shelter and no possibility of building a fire, he would dance all night upon a rock to avoid freezing. He was frequently held up by sticky snow, as he knew nothing of "dope."

He became famous far and wide for his exploits, which earned him the name of "Snowshoe Thompson." He ran 1,600 feet in 21 seconds, or at the rate of 52 miles per hour, and often made jumps of over 50 feet. One reliable witness reported his having jumped 180 feet. He died after a brief illness in 1876 and was buried in Genoa. His gravestone is ornamented with a pair of crossed ski.

Although Snowshoe Thompson is the outstanding figure in California's ski-ing history, it appears that other Norwegians introduced ski into Plumas County, farther north, at an even earlier date. The *Plumas Argus*, of Quincy, in March, 1857, carried an item from Poorman's Creek near La Porte which described "Norwegian snowshoes, 9 feet long and 4½ inches wide" as in common use. The depth of snow was given as from 25 to 30 feet. A "Snowshoe Club" was organised at La Porte in January 1867. Races were held for purses ranging up to $75. Frank Stewart, a carpenter and ski-maker, invented a "dope" which was doubtless largely responsible for his winning $500 in gold dust by beating the great Snowshoe Thompson. His ski were much lighter than Thompson's.

Ski-racing in Plumas County evidently furnished all the excitement that elsewhere has been afforded by prize-fighting and horse-racing. Huge sums were wagered, teams organised, secret formulas invented for "dope." The races were true "flying kilometres," usually held on prepared tracks, late in the afternoon if necessary for them to be frozen and packed. A record was set in 1873 by Tommy Todd, who travelled a measured 1,804 feet in 14 seconds flat (87 miles per hour). Frank Woodward ran 1,950 feet in 17 seconds. The races were mostly straightaway, and the "riders" often used very long ski, 10 to 15 feet in length; indeed, 25-foot ski were said to have been tried. Ski were always known as "snowshoes," the Norwegian name having apparently failed to take hold. Ski socks for climbing are mentioned in one early source.

A contemporary description of the sport printed in the *Sacramento Union*, March 28, 1868, is so vivid and detailed as to justify reprinting verbatim.

Howland Flat, March 18, 1868

SNOWSHOE RACING AT HOWLAND FLAT

"Our great snowshoe racing tournament, under the direction of the Table Rock Snowshoe Club, just completed, has been the all-absorbing event of the past two weeks, and as it is of so much local interest I deem it may not be uninteresting to many readers of the *Union* who are not privileged with a residence in the snowy regions of the Sierras. With the great depth of snow that we have in our winters there is but little opportunity for sport, but when opportunity offers few are liable to the charge of not improving it. The just completed races were announced to commence on the 2nd, but storms intervened and a postponement was had from day to day. Notwithstanding the unfavorable weather quite a respectable number of racers and a large number of spectators were in attendance. Most of the towns in Sierra and Plumas counties were represented. On days that the weather permitted the large number of ladies from home and abroad fully attested by their presence that they too had a lively interest in the sport. Heretofore prizes have been offered for which they contended on snowshoes, but the custom seems to be falling into disuse, but why, I do not see. If skating is healthy, graceful and delightful, snowshoeing is equally so. Most of the ladies are quite expert on the shoes, and are very competent judges in all matters pertaining to the science.

WHAT'S A SNOWSHOE? Probably many a person has asked without deriving the desired information. For the enlightenment of such, I will attempt a description. Snowshoes are made of wood, are about twelve feet long, four inches wide and one-and-a-fourth inches thick in the center. They are tapered on top from near the middle to one-fourth of an inch in thickness at the toes, and in like manner to three-fourths of an inch at the heels, and nearly flat. The toes are turned up like a sleigh-runner. They are of the same width from end to end, and a "spring" is worked in so that without weight on they rest on the heels and points, but when the rider stands on them the weight is somewhat evenly distributed. A concave groove is made in the bottom, beginning near the toes and running to the heels, similar to the bottoms of skate-runners. The bottoms are highly polished and then tar is burned in and rubbed until a fine mahogany-appearing finish is obtained, which hardens the wood, makes a very smooth surface and attracts heat when exposed to the sun, the latter being a desirable item in putting on the "dope" on the racing ground. The rider stands a little back from the center of the shoes, the feet being held by toe-straps of strong leather that allow the foot to enter to near the ball, but that will not hinder it from slipping easily out in case of a fall. They are guided on the same principle as skates, but being so long of course are not near so easy of control.

"DOPE is the material for lubricating the bottoms of the shoes, and is intended to do away with friction as nearly as possible. So great has become the science in the manufacture of this article that friction is now counted nearly nothing. The manufacture of dope requires both science and skill. The temperature of the snow is as variable as that of the atmosphere, and for every temperature of snow a different kind of dope is needed. Among the materials entering into the composition of dope are: spermacetti, Burgundy pitch, Canada pitch, fir balsam, Venice turpentine, oil of cedar, tar, pine, hemlock and fir, and glycerine, Barbary tallow, camphor and castor oil.

"RACING TRACKS are chosen on steep side hills, and are generally about twelve hundred feet long, with an angle of depression of from fifteen to twenty-five degrees, being always in a direct line and as even as possible. The winning poles are set on comparatively level ground, in order to give the racers a chance to break up after passing through, which is done by dragging their poles and bearing heavily on astraddle.

"HOW A RACE IS WON. When the entries are all

Often snow-bound for several months a year, communities like Mountain Home in Sierra County welcomed the diversion afforded by skiing meets, which included racing and jumping. CHS, San Francisco

made the races are arranged in squads of four, always representing different towns. The winners of these squads make up other squads in like manner until they saw-off to the final squad, the winner of which is the winner of the purse. When the race is called the first squad takes its place, the riders standing on their shoes in line and holding back with their poles. The instructions are then given, to wit: 'The first man through the winning poles on his shoes, or on one shoe, wins. Any one starting before the tap of the drum cannot win.' The drum is then tapped out of their sight and away they go, poling for dear life, until the speed is so great that nothing can be gained. Then they squat low on their shoes in order to offer as little front as possible to the atmosphere, and, as well, to better retain their balance in going over uneven places. . . . Great steadiness is required in riding, and very perfect control over the shoes, but still, withal, the best riders sometimes fall, ploughing the snow and bounding in the air at a fearful rate. Seldom any serious injury is sustained from falling. The greatest danger lies in other riders coming in contact with one when falling, when there is great danger. During our races no accident happened to in the least mar the occasion, and I will venture the assertion that in no place but in California could so many men meet, contesting for prizes and the reputation of so many towns, and part in the utmost friendship. . . ."

That they took their sport with all the seriousness of modern collegians is attested by the challenge issued by Thompson and printed in the *Sacramento Union* of March 26th, 1869. Thompson evidently did not suffer the pangs of an "inferiority complex." Here is the challenge.

"THOMPSON CHALLENGES THE SIERRA BOYS.—The following challenge is offered on behalf of Snow Shoe Thompson and the Alpine boys, to the young men of Sierra, who must take up the gauntlet or forever hold their peace. Thompson is not scared at the 'dope' much, and means business. If the Sierra boys like to have a chance at a big high mountain, Thompson will accomodate them. We quote from the Alpine *Chronicle* of March 20th:

'The Downieville *Messenger* says, I had heard of snow shoe races, and to satisfy my curiosity I attended those at Laporte.

'I did go to Laporte, expecting to see some scientific snow shoe racing, but I was disappointed; it was nothing but "dope racing," and is unworthy of the name of snow shoeing. It is nothing more than a little improvement on coasting down hill on a hand-sled. The improvement is, that instead of uprights and crossbars from one runner to the other, they make their legs and crotch answer this purpose, and they have no more control over their shoes than a boy has over his sled. They have exhibited some skill in making dope, but all they gain in this is that they make about the same time on a hill of 15° that a man would, without dope, on a hill of 30°. These "dope riders" at Laporte are good, clever fellows, but they have no more right to call themselves scientific snow shoers than a man with steel skates on smooth ice who with a spiked pole placed between his legs pushed himself straight ahead should be called a scientific skater.

'Now, I, on behalf of the Alpine Boys, make these propositions to the Plumas and Sierra Boys or "any other man" in the State. Come to Alpine county next Winter and run with us. We will run you for $1,000 a side for each one of the following, viz.:

'First—Against time; you to select your hillside, and then we will select ours.

'Second—Side by side; we to select the hillside.

'Third—Over a precipice fifteen feet high, without the usual poles, the one jumping the furthest, without falling, to take the purse.

'Fourth—From the top to the bottom of the highest and heaviest-timbered mountain we can find.

'Fifth and last—to run from the top of Silver Mountain peak to the town of Silver Mountain. The altitude of the peak is 11,000 feet—4,000 feet above town, and distant four miles.

'Now, boys of Plumas and Sierra, come over here; we will treat you well, and if you win our money you are welcome. If you come, be sure and bring that *Messenger* man along with you, and I will bet him $100 that if he attempts to follow me on snow-shoes for one day he will break his neck before night.

'For the information of those who have not seen my snow-shoes, I will give the dimensions: They are 9 feet long, turned up in front and flat-bottomed; 4 inches wide in front; 3½ inches behind, and 1½ inches thick in center.

J.A. Thompson (Snow-shoe Thompson)'

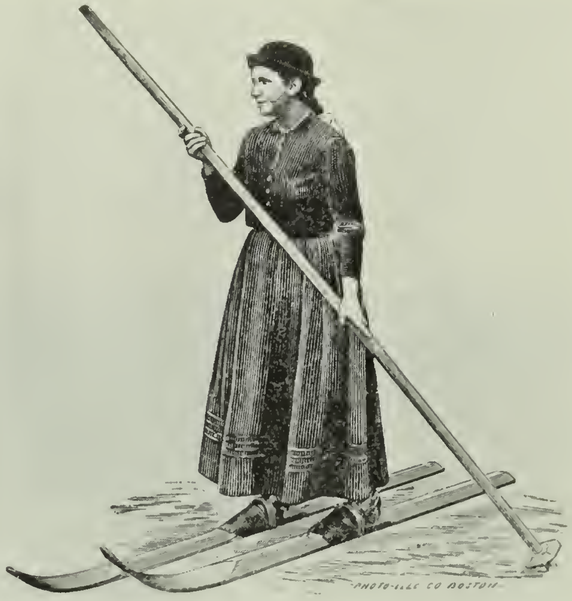
"The *Chronicle* adds:

'As the *Messenger* rather disparages our man, we will cite what he has done, and he can do it again for an object. Thompson, with a heavy bag upon his back, has frequently run three miles in five minutes; has jumped precipices and landed ninety feet, right side up, from the starting point; has command of his shoes to such an extent that on the steepest and heaviest-timbered mountains he glides among the obstructions like the skater on ice; at ever so great a speed he will touch or pass within an inch of any designated object; he has often carried the mail from Genoa to Placerville, eighty miles, in fifteen hours running time; he runs standing, and in coming down the mountains he does not check himself with the pole, but turns around and runs up hill when he wants to stop. Now, we have stated what one of our Alpine boys has done and can do, we hope this challenge will be accepted. We accept the wager of the $100 against our *Messenger* friend's neck.' "

However, the President of the Alturas Snowshoe Club was not deficient in the art of invective as developed in mining communities and declined the challenge without conceding a whit to the awesome reputation of Thompson. Here is his reply (*Sacramento Daily Union* of April 7, 1869).

Laporte, March 30, 1869

"I see by your paper of the 26th instant that 'Snowshoe Thompson' and the Alpine *Chronicle* have been having a good deal to say about the late races of the Alturas Snowshoe Club. Inasmuch as I was, in the absence of John Coutz, the acting President of the Club at the last meeting of the same, when the celebrated snowshoeist made his appearance, I claim the privilege of saying a few words on behalf of the Club in reply. First, I will tell Thompson and the *Chronicle* man what the Alturas Snowshoe Club was not organized for, and then what it was organized for. It was not organized to make business for doctors and undertakers by running races down steep and thickly timbered mountains or over high precipices, nor for the purpose of encouraging gambling, otherwise we might be induced to accept Thompson's bombastic challenge, which, if he would come to time with the money, would be sure to put several thousand dollars into our treasury. But it was organized to fill in the time during the long, tedious Winters when everybody is idle, affording an innocent amusement and health-giving exercise, thereby keeping the muscles in tune for the labors of the Summer. This being our object, we have always selected our tracks and managed our races with a view to safety, and invited all lovers of that kind of sport to come and take a chance for the purses which we have annually put up in accordance with this general invitation, as we supposed. This man Thompson made his appearance at



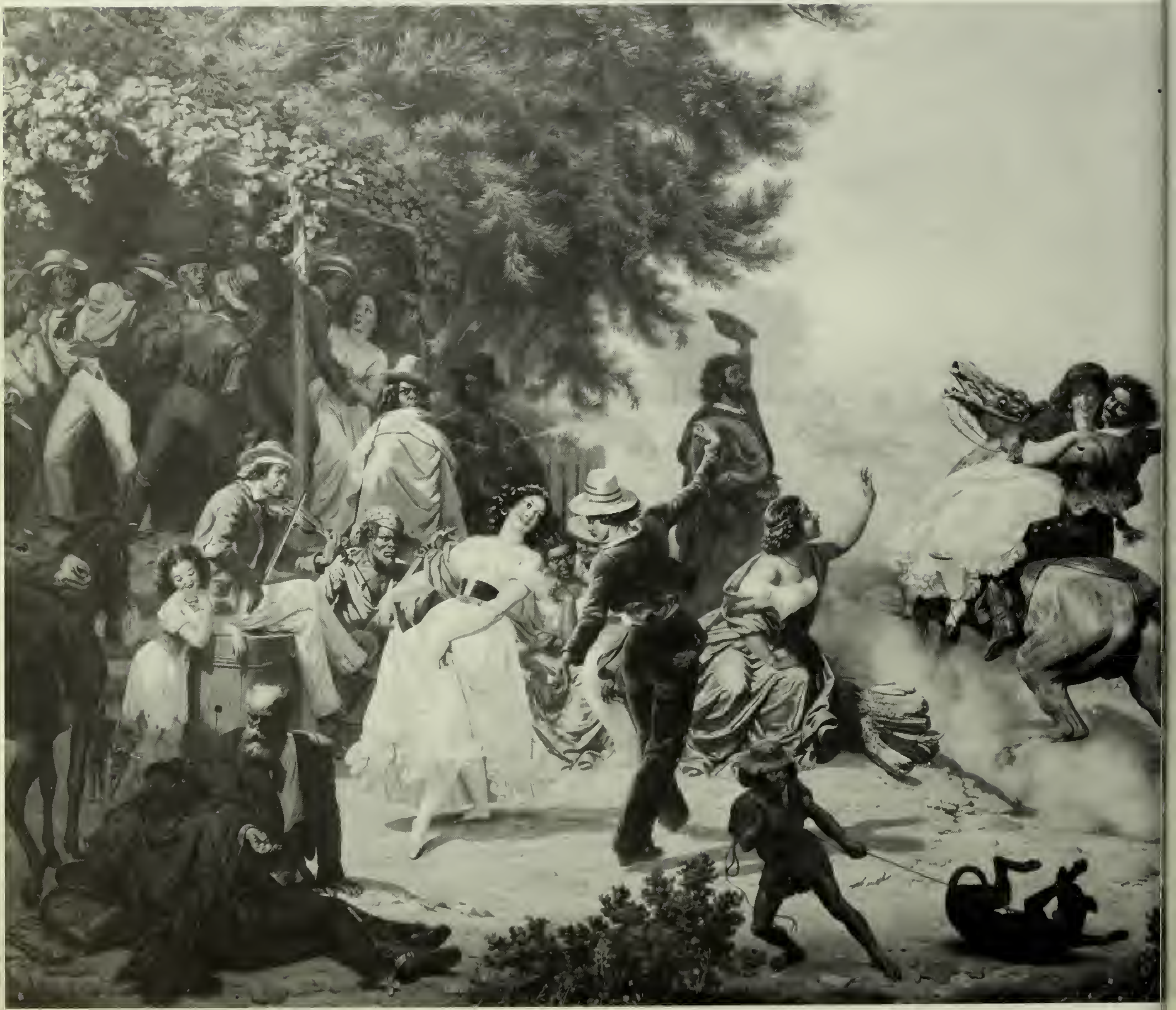
Wielding six-foot poles for propelling and steering, mountain women eagerly contended for prizes in skiing competitions.
CHS, San Francisco

our last annual races, was kindly received and treated in the most hospitable manner by the members of the Club, beside being afforded every facility for entering into the sports of the day, such as 'dope' and snowshoes. How well he repayed our kind treatment his bombastic, breakneck article, copied into your paper, will show. He says: 'I did go to Laporte, expecting to see some scientific snowshoe racing, but I was disappointed; it was nothing but dope racing,' and then goes on with quite a rigmarole about coasting down hill on a hand-sled, etc., admitting that our boys have manifested some skill in making 'dope,' but claims that they have no right to be called scientific snowshoers. Now I propose to compare the science, skill and ingenuity of this man Thompson in managing snowshoes with that of the boys of the Club, as exhibited on the first day's racing, and which I challenge him to deny.

"On the first day, in the first race, among thirty-six names who had entered was that of J.A. Thompson, of Silver Mountain, who had come all the way from Alpine county, some 200 miles, just to let the Plumas and Sierra boys know what he could do, and how easy it would be for him to gobble up that little dab of $600. The track being 1,450 feet long and 100 wide, down a comparatively smooth hill, not very steep, Thompson being in the fourth squad, the drum tapped and down they come, Thompson a long distance behind, and, would you believe it, this man, who has such perfect command of his shoes that he can 'glide down the steepest mountains among the thickest timber with perfect ease, and run within an inch of any given object,' actually found this track of 100 feet, in an open space, too narrow for him and landed outside of the ropes, much to the annoyance of the crowd of spectators there assembled, supposing themselves entirely out of the way of the most clumsy rider.

"Thompson's science in the second race was about the same as in the first, after which the name of this celebrated snowshoe rider does not appear among the riders.

"Strange, indeed, that this celebrity from the classic precincts of Silver Mountain, whose only fear was that his wide-spread fame would reach Laporte before he did, and he be ruled out; who had traveled two hundred miles, boasting all along the road that he would show the Laporters how to ride snowshoes, should show the white feather, get on a big disgust and throw up the sponge the first day—turn his face toward his home and leave the pleasant sports which he had come so far to see, while they were in full blast. The boys do say that he went by a different road than the one he came, not caring to answer the questions that might be asked on his way back. You may think I am a little rough on this man Thompson. It might have been, had he gone back to his friends and frankly acknowledged what he then knew to be true—that to be a good traveler is one thing, but to be a scientific racer is another—instead of attempting to cover up his ignominious defeat by giving out a braggadocio challenge that he knew nobody would accept. This fellow talks about the Laporters not 'having a right to be called scientific snowshoe riders!' Why, Doc. Brewster has a mule that has been practising this Winter on snowshoes, that can beat him on an even string."



"Laughter-loving, idle, dancing Hispano-Americans" frolic in Charles Nahl's mythological scenes of mid-century California life. *The Fandango*, E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, Sacramento

David J. Langum

FROM CONDEMNATION TO PRAISE

Shifting Perspectives on Hispanic California

Prior to the conquest of California in 1846, American writing concerning the area's inhabitants was highly judgmental. In particular the Hispanic *Californios* were depicted as a lazy and indolent people.[1] Although many foreign observers of Mexican California also made this characterization, American authors were especially invective in their remarks.[2]

Then, after the absorption of California into the Union, a strange phenomenon ensued. Retrospective examination of the vanquished Hispanic culture converted the vices of idleness and indolence into virtues of graciousness, pastorality, and tranquility. The primary agents for modification of the earlier negative image of *Californio* society were writers working in the fields of historical interpretation and literature. This transformation in image and the reasons for the dramatic shift in perspective make up a fascinating episode in California historiography.

After the mid-nineteenth century, most Americans began to have mellowing sentiments about the society they had subjugated and, with the plunder of the Mexican land grant ranches, were so rapidly destroying. Even one of the chief actors in the physical conquest of California, Major John Charles Frémont, acquired over the subsequent decades a somewhat remorseful, repining view of her cultural subjection. The *Californios*' own descendants played a part in generating the new romantic image.[3] Doubtless this change in focus was not only flattering to them, but it also served as some emotional compensation for their lost wealth and power.

Other, newer Californians, notably real estate developers and politicians, had different sorts of compensation to garner from the promotion of an increasingly favorable, nostalgic view of the past. Although the new image of the recent past affected many people and manifested itself in such diverse outlets as architecture and dress styles, the changing sentiment was expressed earliest and with most clarity in published writings about the new state. It was these writers who most successfully modified the state's own cultural memory.

The existence of the Hispanic past and its incongruity with certain generalities of American experiences—Protestantism, commercialism, and an individualistic pattern of frontier development—made it difficult for both the historian and the novelist to fit pre-American California into the new American world view. As Kevin Starr has written,

> The Hispanic past—as a matter of history or romance—would always be an essential premise in American California's struggle for regional identity. . . . Behind the raw American surface of things lay a past which Americans had taken over just as surely as they had seized the land. The problem of how to graft that past onto the American present would always prove troublesome.[4]

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As portrayed in the 1854 engraving, California vaqueros exhibited little of the panache routinely attributed to them by later artists. The Californio women, however, have already been made romantically primitive.
CHS, San Francisco

"Never before or since was there a spot in America where life was a long happy holiday, where there was less labor, less care or trouble."
—Franklin Tuthill

One way to reconcile the Hispanic past with the American present was to cease the criticism of the past and find positive things to say about the very traits, laziness and indolence, which had previously been criticized. As early as 1855 the authors of *Annals of San Francisco* referred to Mexicans in San Francisco as "laughter-loving, idle, dancing Hispano-Americans." The work is generally captious of Mexicans and the section dealing with the influx of foreigners into Mexican California states that "the indolent Spaniards stupidly looked on, while the prestige of their name, their wealth and influence were quietly passing into other and stronger hands." Still, there is little mordacity in this sort of criticism. Further, the book makes a clear distinction between Mexicans and native *Californios*, praising the latter. Summarizing their observations of the mid-century Hispanic population, the authors noted that

> the Hispano-Americans, as a class, rank far beneath the French and Germans. They are ignorant and lazy, and are consequently poor. A few of their number may have a high social standing in the city, while some more bear a respectable position. . . . It is not of them, nor of the few native Californians, who are gentlemen by nature, that we speak, but of the great mass of the race.[5]

Stilled is the vituperative tone, common so few years earlier.

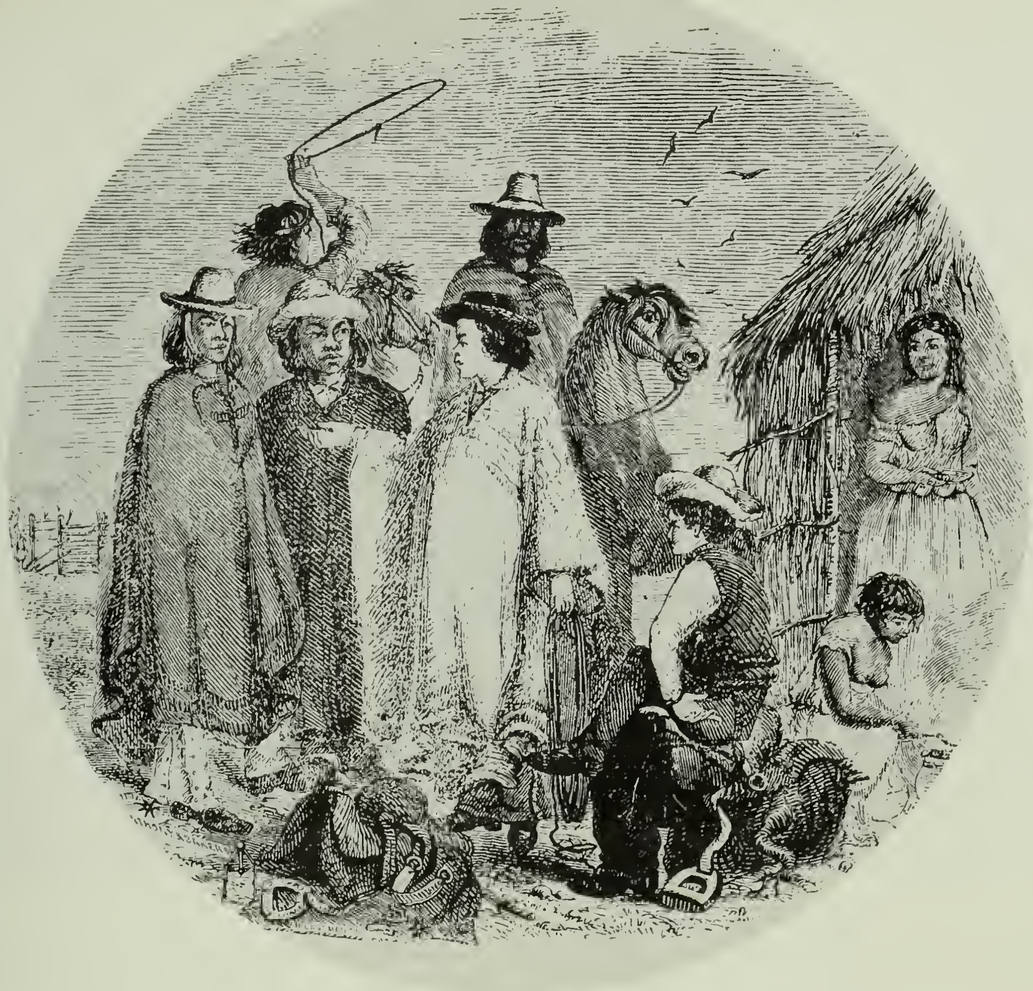
Only twenty years after the conquest of California, Franklin Tuthill, in one of the first American histories of California, wrote of the *Californios* as having "drifted through two generations . . . without disturbance, without bloodshed, with scarcely a ripple on the calm surface of their simple society." Tuthill was here referring specifically to the Spanish period, and at one point he labels the Californians "lazy." But if the overall impression is equivocal, the biting edge has disappeared and picturesqueness enhanced. In summing up the native Californians on the eve of conquest, he writes: "The people that made up the body of the population were dashing and careless, fond of fandangoes, always ready for a dance, making the most of their religious holidays with bull-fights and bear-baitings, and almost universally given to gambling."[6]

The preeminent historian of the entire Pacific slope, Hubert Howe Bancroft, sympathetically advanced this image of a carefree society. In *California Pastoral* (1888) he rhapsodized:

> Salute this land, blessed above all lands! . . . It is not the Arcadia of tradition . . . it is the Arcadia of reality. . . . Never before or since was there a spot in America where life was a long happy holiday, where there was less labor, less care or trouble. . . ."[7]

Often this shift in retrospective view of *Californio* society came in the form of romantic nostalgia for a society which was either irretrievably lost or rapidly in the process of becoming so. One of the earliest fictionalizers of Hispanic California was Bret Harte, for whom the pre-American period consisted of

> happy, tranquil days. The proprietors of the old ranchos ruled in a patriarchal style, and lived to a patriarchal age. On a soil half tropical in its character . . . a soft-handed Latin race slept and smoked the half year's sunshine away. . . . They awoke from their dreams only to find themselves strangers on their own soil, foreigners in their own country, ignorant even of the treasure they had been sent to guard.[8]



In the same vein of romantic nostalgia is Helen Hunt Jackson's 1884 description of Rancho Camulos in *Ramona*:

> The Senora Moreno's house was one of the best specimens to be found in California of the representative house of the half barbaric, half elegant, wholly generous and free-handed life led there by Mexican men and women of degree in the early part of this century. . . . It was a picturesque life, with more of sentiment and gayety in it, more also that was truly dramatic, more romance, than will ever be seen again on those sunny shores.[9]

Gertrude Atherton was still another novelist who indulged in sentimentality for Hispanic California. Two of her works, *The Doomswoman*, a novel (1892), and *The Splendid Idle Forties*, a collection of short stories (1902), concern California of the 1830s and 1840s. These writings all are love stories set among an unhistorically stratified "aristocracy" of pre-American California. Although Atherton viewed the rudimentary *Californio* culture with some condescension, she describes its gaiety, charm and society with total approval and seems fully to agree with one of her characters who describes the life in California as "the gayest, the happiest, the most careless life in the world . . . But how long will it last? Curse the Americans! They are coming."[10]

There is, nonetheless, an ambivalence in Atherton's writing about the Hispanic era. She herself had endured a loveless marriage to George Atherton and had resided with him on the Atherton estate where she lived a leisurely life of rural boredom, presided over by her Spanish-speaking parents-in-law. Her

Silver-studded horses and riders lasso a terrified grizzly bear in this 1877 painting by James Walker. Walker immortalized colorful California characters and pursuits for the children of the first Yankee Californians. Denver Art Museum

"How long will it last" Curse the Americans! They are coming."
—Gertrude Atherton

father-in-law, Faxon Dean Atherton, had first arrived in California in 1836, left in 1839, made a fortune in Chile, and returned to California with a Chilean wife. The Athertons spoke Spanish at home and regarded themselves as Spanish grandees.

According to one Atherton biographer,

> Her two-hundred-pound Spanish mother-in-law, who larded tyranny with kindness, undertook at once to have Gertrude converted to Catholicism and to tone down her spirits. The slightest flicker of mental activity on the girl's part drew a subtle reminder that intellect was out of place among the female sex. Her whole duty, she was made to understand, was to be a helpmeet to George. But Gertrude's lord and master scarcely inspired such singular dedication. He idled away his days and spent all of the allowance his family meted out on himself.[11]

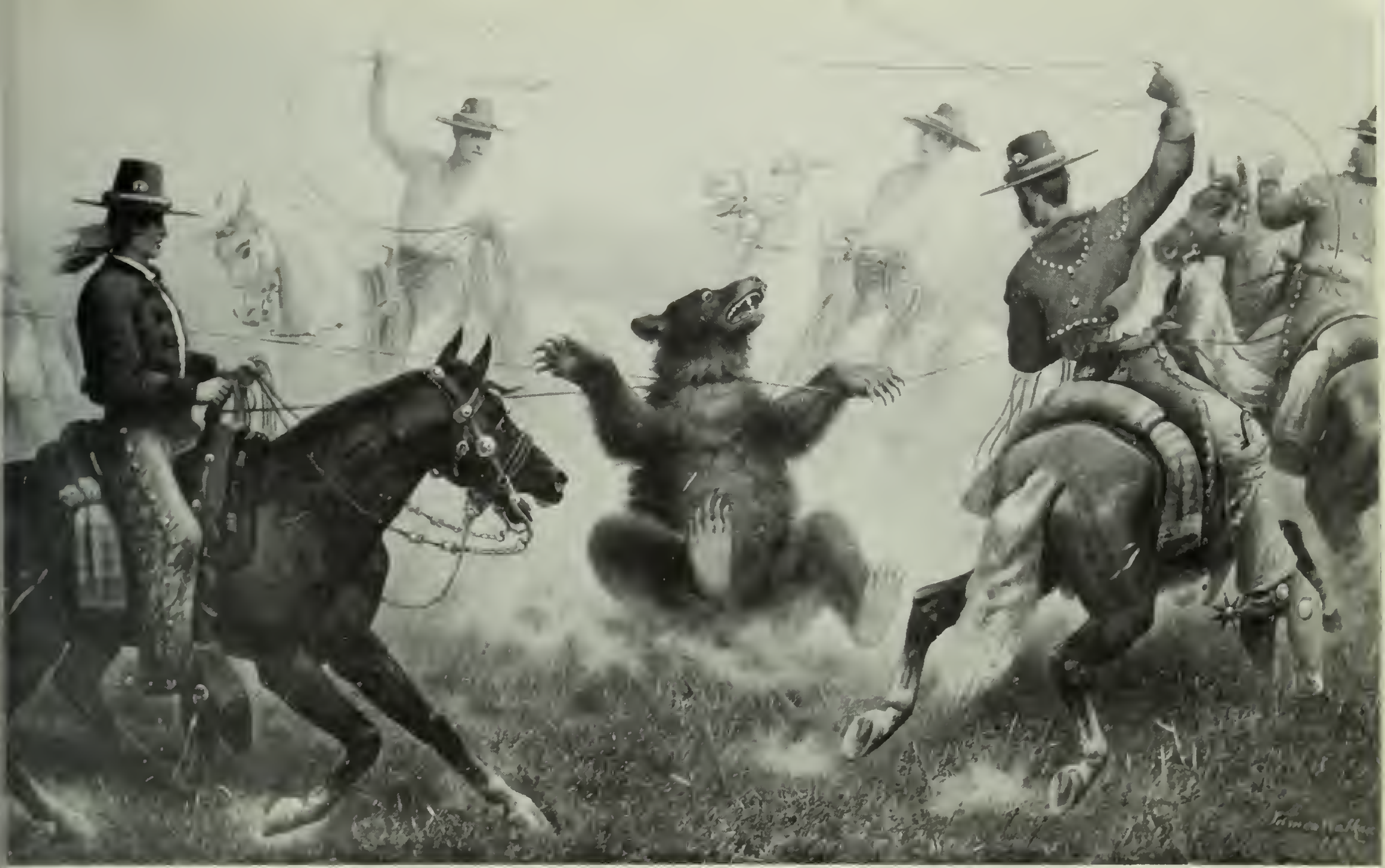
It is no wonder that once the novelist had liberated herself from this environment that her accounts of Hispanic California would be heavily colored by her actual contact with an old-line Hispanic family. Accordingly, her writing is sharply critical of the dominance of parental authority in the Hispanic families, particularly toward daughters, and she is as critical of male *Californio* idleness and laziness as the most condemning of the pre-1846 visitors. Taken as a whole, however, Atherton's description of pre-American California is sympathetic and nostalgic.

This shift in viewpoint throughout the last half of the nineteenth century from one of criticism to sympathy and even admiration for the pre-American *Californios* has been aptly summarized by historian Leonard Pitt:

> Despite its Anglo-Saxon cast, the new romantic literature on California represented a sharp departure from earlier accounts. Whereas the original Yankee travelers had carped on the retrograde tendencies of the old order, the new writers vaunted its solid virtues. If the early visitors had glowered at California's wasted resources, the later ones sang the praises of pastoral labor.[12]

How can this shift in viewpoint be understood historically? One reason, impossible to document, might be a shared conscious, or unconscious, desire to believe in the existence of a pleasant and romantic past in what was no longer a foreign land but an American state fully incorporated into the Union. A second reason for the change in image was the conscious effort of some writers, new to California, to seek roots for a regional identity in the only historic past California had—its Hispanic background. This urge was particularly strong among the "local color" school of writers, including for example, Charles Fletcher Lummis, George Wharton James, and Mary Austin.

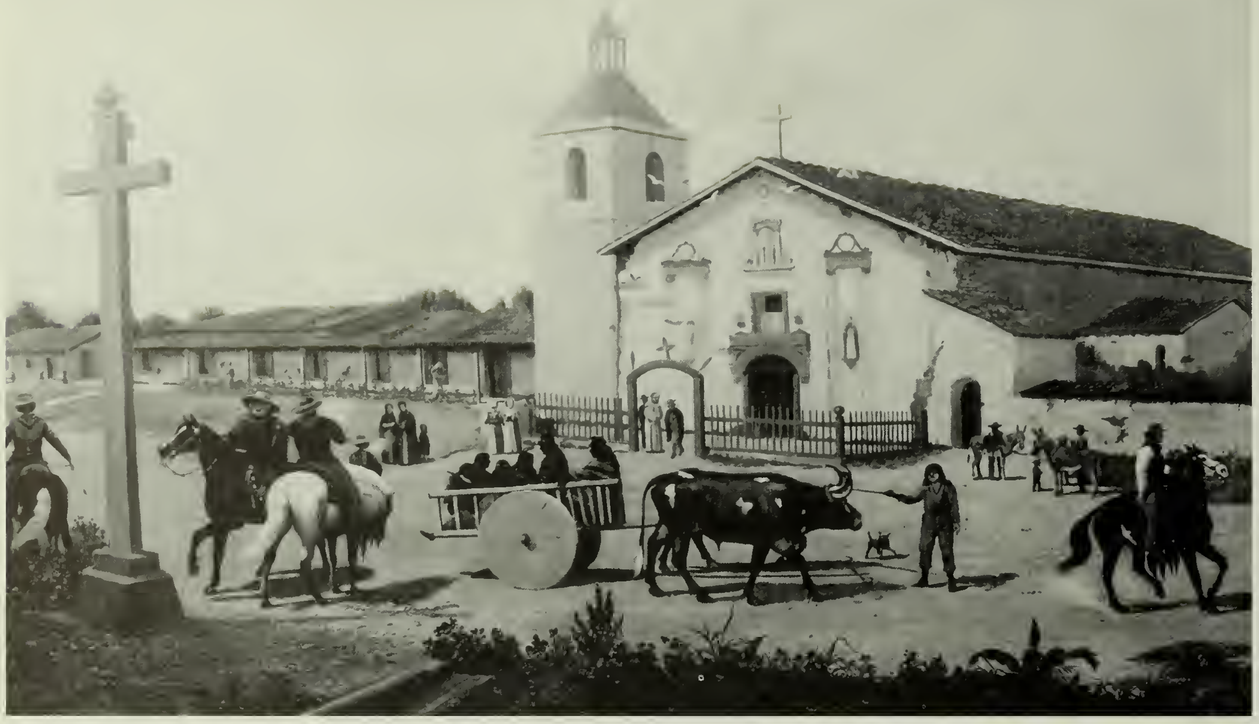
Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, California, particularly Southern California, underwent a cultural revolution which has been described by literary historians as the development of a "Mediterranean analogy."[13] Increasingly in this era, Southern Californians became conscious of their subtropical environment and analogized their situation with the flowering of the ancient Greek culture. Because Spain was likewise Mediterranean, the emphasis in Southern California somewhat naturally shifted to California's Spanish past. In culture, literature, and architecture, Anglo Californians showed increasing interest in, and to an extent an aping of, what they regarded as the aristocratic life of leisure lived in pre-conquest California.



Lummis, James, and Austin did the most to glorify and romanticize California's Spanish background. Significantly, and like the society of the 1880s and 1890s for which they wrote, they were new to California. Because they were newcomers in an area which had no literary traditions, these writers seized on the Spanish link to California's past as the most rapid way to establish a literary provenance for the region. In the process they could hardly help but be sympathetic toward the Hispanic past. The process has been well described by Franklin Walker:

> The enthusiastic embracing of all things Spanish that overtook the Southern California population in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was a result, to a very large degree, of this strong desire to establish cultural traditions in as short a time as possible. . . . The Spanish tradition . . . had many advantages, even though acceptance of it by the preponderately Protestant society involved tribute to an alien Catholicism. . . . The traditions and legends that were created came in time to be accepted without question. The kindhearted industrious Franciscans, led by the saintly Serra, had brought civilization and temporary affluence to the docile and grateful California Indians. The great ranchos had soon covered the land; they were lavish in their hospitality and were peopled with brightly dressed *caballeros* and beautiful, fine-tempered *senoritas*. Everyone took it easy in that Arcadia, and there was nothing of the push and shove of modern commercial life. The adobe houses were cool and comfortable; the tinkling guitars and the lovely mission bells brought music to a quiet land; and everywhere courtesy, generosity, and lightheartedness reigned supreme.[14]

This Mediterranean-Spanish tradition, of course, was not confined to California. Lummis wrote as much about the Southwest as about California, and even in books such as *The Spanish Pioneers* (1893) dealing directly with Spanish themes, he focused on the explorers and colonists of New Spain in the sixteenth century, only briefly mentioning the later Spaniards in California. Likewise, Mary Austin's primary interest was in the desert region of the entire Southwest, not just California. At this same time



other writers, such as Adolph Bandolier in Arizona and New Mexico, were involving themselves with the Spanish and Indian cultural backgrounds in areas outside of California. While the Spanish revival in literature and architecture of the 1880s and 1890s tended incidentally to ameliorate the earlier criticism of *Californio* indolence, the interest in things Spanish was not a phenomenon exclusive to California although it was there that it gained its greatest vogue.

A third motivation for the shift in attitude toward Hispanic California was an anti-commercial attitude among many authors. For these writers, the halycon idyls of pastoral California contrasted favorably with the bustling of the American era. This position tempered criticism of Hispanic idleness and helped to transform the image of laziness into one of carefreeness. While it is inordinately speculative to assert that certain authors held a favorable view of pre-American California because of anti-bourgeois attitudes, a definite relationship exists. The two viewpoints often appear in tandem, with sympathetic description of Hispanic California immediately contrasted with the rude nature of contemporary America.

Consider the comments of Robert Louis Stevenson in his 1880 essay, "The Old Pacific Capital."[15] In writing of *Californios,* he lamented that

> this Mexican and that Mexican would describe to you his old family estates, not one rood of which remained to him. You would ask him how that came about, and elicit some tangled story back-foremost. . . . It is true they were improvident, and easily dazzled with the sight of ready money; but they were gentlefolk besides, and that in a way curiously unfitted them to combat Yankee craft.

As for Monterey, the old capital itself, Stevenson continued, "Alas for the little town! it is not strong enough to resist the influence of the flaunting caravanserai, and the poor, quaint, penniless native gentlemen of Monterey must perish, like a lower race, before the millionaire vulgarians of the Big Bonanza."[16] In like manner, Jackson's reference in *Ramona* to the picturesque life led at Rancho Camulos is immediately followed by the sentiment that an aroma of romance still lingers about the ranch as

According to later American histories of California, the Californios *"drifted through two generations . . . with scarcely a ripple on the calm surface of their simple society." This perception illuminates Andrew P. Hill's 1901 painting,* Santa Clara Mission in 1849. Society of California Pioneers Collection, San Francisco

"industries and inventions have not yet slain it."

The contrast of pre-conquest tranquility with frantic American materialism was demonstrated architecturally in Elizabeth Hughes' 1875 book, *The California of the Padres; or, Footprints of Ancient Communism.* Hughes charged that Americans had brought to California only "a life of fevered ambition" and urged her readers to contrast the vulgarity and pretentiousness of Nob Hill mansions with the dignity and grace of the missions and adobes. Judge Elisha W. McKinstry reflected similar sentiments. While addressing the Society of California Pioneers in 1871, he opined that "something precious had been lost in the passing of Old California. By contrast, American California seemed opulent, pretentious, and vulgar."[17] Bret Harte made this same unpleasant contraposition in one of his short stories, "The Legend of Monte Del Diablo." He observed that the pastoral days of the Spanish era "were happy, peaceful days for California. The vagrant keels of prying Commerce had not as yet ruffled the lordly gravity of her bays."[18]

But it remained for historian Hubert Howe Bancroft to give the matter its fullest and most extravagant treatment. Writing in 1888, he counterpoised the pastoral, pre-American "golden age" of California with the American "age of gold":

> It was when the gold-seekers came that the golden age of California was destined to be alloyed with brass; for not the age of gold was California's true golden age. The age of gold was the age of avarice, the age of brutal murders, of wild rudeness and insane revellings. More nearly resembling the euthanasia of the ancients was the pastoral life preceding the finding of the Sierra's treasure.[19]

In another passage he uses the simile of a shepherd to describe his views of pre- and post-American California:

> The shepherd of the pastoral age is not the shepherd of to-day. On the gently sloping hillside, under the outspread, bearded oak, sat the shepherd of pastoral days . . . watching his flocks as month after month they continued to wax fat and increase. . . . The shepherds of to-day are wolves; the people are their silly sheep, which they fatten but to devour. Shepherds of the pastoral times knew something of astronomy, and were full of piety to the gods. The shepherds of to-day know how to salt a mine, how to discriminate in freights and fares, how to keep up the price of sugar, of flour, how to swindle, cheat and lie; they, too, are full of piety; there is no god like their god, and his name is Mammon.[20]

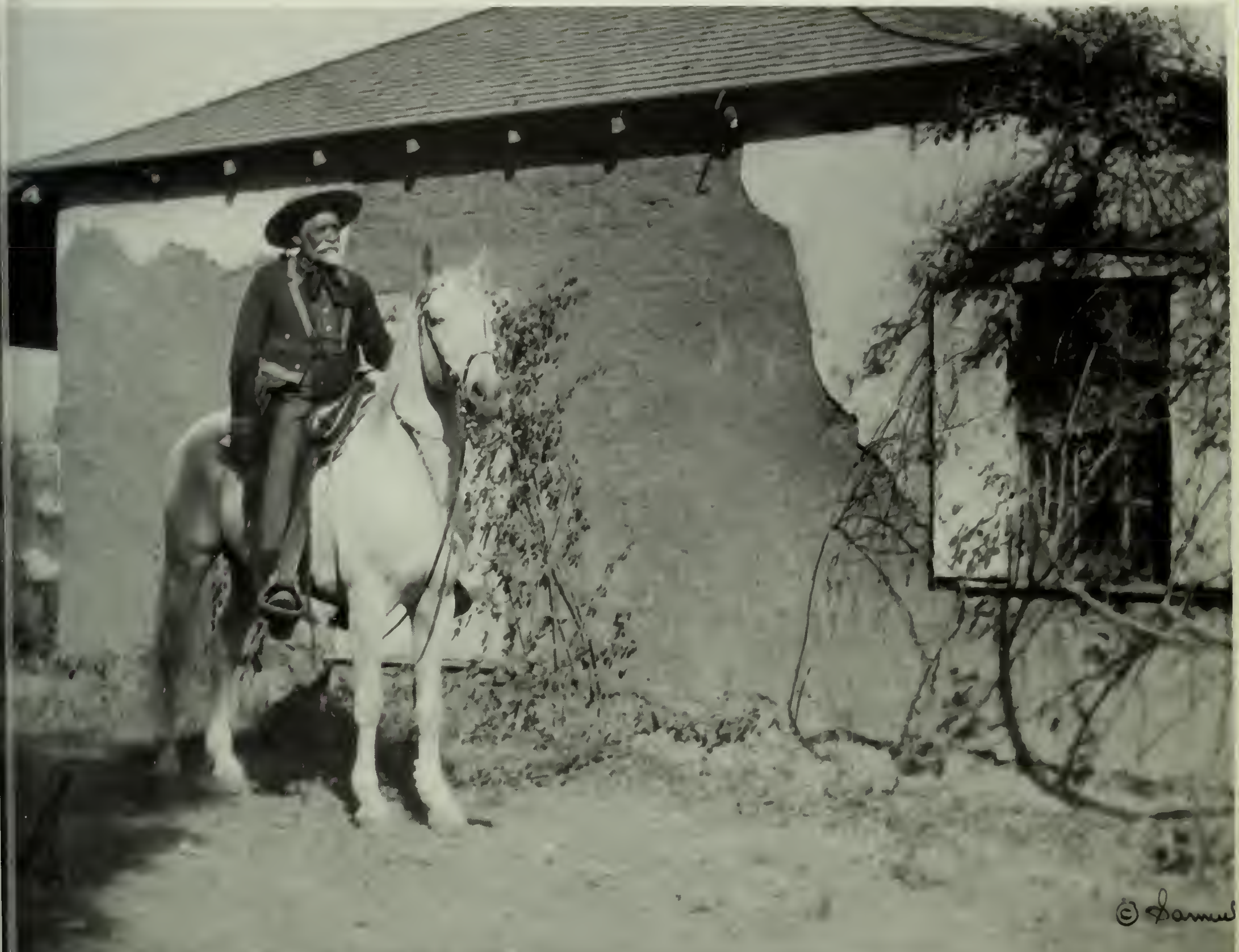
"The Shepherds of to-day are wolves; the people are their silly sheep, which they fatten but to devour."
—Hubert Howe Bancroft

It is clear that the retrospective analysis of Hispanic California changed dramatically in the second half of the nineteenth century. No historical discoveries were the cause of this modified viewpoint toward an earlier era which itself had been so definitively severed from the present by American conquest and cultural absorption. Instead, the wellsprings of the transformation of the literary image of the earlier epoch came from changed social and individual needs in the later period.

In the span of a few decades, writers like Robert Louis Stevenson and Elizabeth Hughes, as well as the comfortable bourgeoisie playing Spanish aristocrats in Southern California, all came to agree on the supposed graciousness and ease of life in pre-American California. When it was foreign land, Americans criticized the *Californio* culture, but both friend and foe of the late nineteenth century present united to praise that same past as prelude to an American future. Life may be short and art long, as Seneca observed, but, as Goethe sagaciously added, judgment is difficult and opportunity transient.

Notes

1. James D. Hart, *American Images of Spanish California* (Berkeley: Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1960); David J. Langum, "Californios and the Image of Indolence," *Western Historical Quarterly* 9 (April 1978): 181-196. Works generally concerned with the literati of California and their descriptions of her inhabitants include Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); Franklin Walker, *A Literary History of Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950); and touching on these matters, Cecil Robinson, *With the Ears of Strangers: The Mexican in American Literature* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1963) and Harry Clark, "Their Pride, Their Manners, and Their Voices: Sources of the Traditional Portrait of the Early Californians," *California Historical Quarterly* 53 (Spring 1974): 71-82.
2. The following is merely a sampling. These and many other similar American observations are collected and fully cited in Langum, "Californios and the Image of Indolence," pp. 181-186. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840): "The Californians are an idle, thriftless people . . . ;" Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (1846): "The men are generally indolent, and addicted to many vices, caring little for the welfare of their children, who, like themselves, grow up unworthy members of society;" Thomas Jefferson Farnham, *Travels in the Californias and Scenes in the Pacific Ocean* (1844): [The] indolent, mixed race of California . . . [is] imbecile, pusillanimous . . . ;" Overton Johnson and William H. Winter, *Route Across the Rocky Mountains* (1846): "The Californians . . . are a lazy, indolent and cowardly people, and have neither enterprise nor spirit of improvement in their disposition, they are only a grade above the aborigines . . . ;" Lansford W. Hastings, *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California* (1845): "[I]gnorance and its concomitant, superstition, together with suspicion and superciliousness, constitute the chief ingredients of the Mexican character. . . . they are scarcely a visible grade, in the scale of intelligence, above the barbaric tribes by whom they are surrounded . . . [their] inherent indolence forbids any course which requires active exertion."
3. For examples see Richard Griswold del Castillo, "The del Valle Family and the Fantasy Heritage," *California History* 59 (Spring 1980): 3; and Guadalupe Vallejo, "Ranch and Mission Days in Alta California," *The Century Magazine* 41 (December 1890): 183, portions reprinted in David J. Weber, *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973), pp. 45-49.
4. Starr, *Americans and the California Dream*, pp. 46, 111.
5. Frank Soule, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855), pp. 368, 83, 471-72.
6. Franklin Tuthill, *The History of California* (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft & Co., 1866), pp. 112, 125, 153.
7. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *California Pastoral* (San Francisco: The History Co., 1888), pp. 138, 179.
8. Quoted in Stanley T. Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), II: 216.
9. Helen Hunt Jackson, *Ramona* (Avon Books, 1970), p. 15.
10. Gertrude Atherton, *The Splendid Idle Forties* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1902), p. 4.
11. Elinor Richey, "The Flappers Were Her Daughters: The Liberated, Literary World of Gertrude Atherton," *American West* (July 1974): 7.
12. Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), p. 289.
13. See generally Chapter 12 of Starr, *Americans and the California Dream*, and Chapter 5 of Walker, *A Literary History of Southern California*.
14. Walker, *A Literary History of Southern California*, 121-123.
15. Penned in 1880 and first appearing in *Fraser's Magazine* (London), it was later included in, and became well known as a part of *Across the Plains, with Other Memories and Essays* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892).
16. Quoted in James D. Hart, *American Images of Spanish California*, 26.
17. Starr, *Americans and the California Dream*, 395 (paraphrasing McKinstry).
18. Bret Harte, *Writings of Bret Harte*, 20 vols. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1897; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1966), I: 383.
19. Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 179.
20. Ibid., 182.



Pictorial-school image makers of the twentieth century like Samuel Adelstein photographed the extinct Californio *past by reconstructing scenes such as* Before the Gringo Came. CHS, San Francisco

Jacquelyn Mollenkopf

The Byron Rail Disaster

In the late-nineteenth century, train transportation in the western United States was, at best, convenient, reasonably comfortable, and inexpensive. A popular novelty and a miracle of power and movement, travel by train was increasingly available to people of modest means for pleasure excursions or daily commutes to the workplace. At worst, however, trains were often unreliable, if not dangerous, for passengers and trainmen alike. "If one wants to get a lively sense of what it means to rush through space at fifty or sixty miles an hour, he must get on a locomotive. Then only does he begin to realize what trifles stand between him and destruction," advised one writer in the late Eighties.[1]

Sensational accounts of collisions and other mishaps due to mechanical or human failure were common front-page fare in California newspapers as the number of accidents each decade kept pace with the expansion of track mileage. From 23 miles of track in 1860, the state had 1854 miles of railway in operation by the end of the Centennial year of 1876, some 14 percent of all new rail construction in the United States that year. By 1900, the state's roadbed miles reached 5751.[2]

While railway accidents were occasionally the result of human error, most wrecks were caused by poor roadbed construction, equipment defects, inadequate braking and signaling systems, derailments, and unguarded crossings.[3] In 1877 the California State Board of Railroad Commissioners reported that "the casualties on railroads here are largely in excess of those in the east, owing in part to the lack of stringent laws with regard to highway crossings in this state."[4] In an article about "The Protection of Passenger Trains," the *San Francisco Record* of April 9,

By the turn of the century, people of modest means could afford to use trains for daily commutes to their workplaces and for business and pleasure excursions to urban centers. CHS, San Francisco

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The author was senior reference librarian at the Marin County Library for nine years. She is presently working on a social history of resorts in Northern California.

"In nine cases out of ten, what are called railway accidents might have been avoided by reasonable care." Sacramento Union, 1869

1878, lamented a recent rear collision caused by the breakdown in communication between the conductor and the engineer and suggested the use of some type of electrical signal: "What with the air brake, and the Miller platform and couplings,[5] the risk of railroad travel has already been greatly diminished, and we believe that with cars fitted thus, the old time fatal telescoping is out of the question."[6]

Conditions were apparently little improved since 1869 when the *Sacramento Union* had protested the "reckless management" of railways: "In nine cases out of ten, what are called railway accidents might have been avoided by reasonable care on the part of directors, superintendents and superior officers of the roads, for the lives and persons of passengers. . . . If they [courts and juries] will give exemplary damages in every case where gross neglect is proved against officers of the road, these sickening horrors will soon cease."[7]

Early efforts in the field of safety legislation had created a hodgepodge of state regulations and commissions that were hopelessly impotent in controlling the rapidly developing national network of railroads. In California, agitation for some kind of public control resulted in the Act of 1876 and the token appointment of three commissioners of transportation. Their duties included the inspection of railroads with reference to the security and accommodation of the public. Two years later, the Act of 1878 created an office of Commissioner of Transportation, appointed by the governor, who filled an advisory role only and had the power to investigate and examine complaints dealing mainly with rates.[8] The Constitution of 1879 provided for an elected board of three railroad commissioners to serve terms of four years each. Extensive statistics generated by their 415-page report of 1895–96 recorded only that 132 passengers and employees were killed and 367 injured during that period.

At the federal level, the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) was organized in 1887 to regulate railroad commerce, but it had little power in safety matters and was unable even to conduct official inquiries into the causes of accidents. Not until Congress enacted the Safety Appliances Act of 1893 were railroads forced to consider the installation of such equipment as automatic couplers and power controlled brakes, and another five years passed before such installation was actually accomplished.[9]

Despite increasing popular concern for public and employee safety, most railroads were unwilling or simply unable in the depression-ridden Nineties to further implement expensive mechanical safety devices and practices. Two more decades were to pass before the law required such safeguards as compulsory locomotive boiler inspection and the adoption of train control mechanisms that were vital to the prevention of accidents, especially rear-end collisions.

In 1902 the ICC called, in particular, for wider use of the block system. Either manual or automatic, this system was a method of using alarm signals or bells to halt the advance of a train beyond a certain point until the preceding train had passed another designated point farther down the line. Railroads, especially those in California, were slow to install these safety systems because of cost. An automated block system involved a hefty financial outlay for costly equipment; the manual system necessitated an enlarged work force of signalmen or telegraph operators.[10] Without some form of block system, however, prevention of an impending rear collision depended primarily upon railroad employees who waved flags and lanterns or activated torpedoes or fuses when a problem developed. Secondly, halting a rear-end collision required alert perceptions and proper reactions from those to whom the signals were directed.[11]

Before the year 1902 was over, a catastrophic collision on the Southern Pacific Line in Northern California dramatized the perils of operating without adequate safety features like block systems and safety inspections. Coupled with other tragedies around the country, the accident fueled the growing fire of public concern that in the next decade led to significant federal regulatory action and increased cooperation between railroads and government to reduce railroad accidents.

At 5 P.M. on Saturday, December 20, 1902, just thirty minutes before the daily commuter train, the *Stockton Flyer*, was scheduled for its regular departure from Oakland, the *Owl Limited* steamed out of the cavernous train shed of the Oakland Mole.[12] A modern train with double drawing-room sleeping cars, the *Owl* stopped briefly at Oakland's 16th Street station, and then headed northward into a long loop around the shoreline of San Francisco, San Pablo, and Suisun bays, beginning its evening journey to Los Angeles. A day coach had been added to the *Owl* to accommodate weary shoppers, businessmen, and jubilant students and families bound for Christmas reunions with friends and relatives in the Fresno area. Rear car passengers quickly settled in for the ride, unfolding late editions of the *San Francisco Bulletin* or *Oakland Tribune*, sharing boxed refreshments, or setting off for diner fare in the next car.[13]

Prevention of an impending rear collision depended primarily upon railroad employees who waved flags and lanterns.

Only half seeing the dusky land and seascape rolling by, Eugene Lee reflected with satisfaction on his afternoon purchase of wedding attire in San Francisco and his forthcoming nuptials in Fresno. For Clarence Olufs, Mabel Dezey, and G.S. Crites of Bakersfield, the welcome break from university studies had finally begun, and the exhilarating prospect of vacation was shared by the four Mayer youngsters seated nearby. Mrs. Mayer and her brood would soon be joining husband and father, a Fresno hotel operator.[14]

Passengers inclined toward whiling away minutes and miles in conversation found diverse topics in the experience and occupations of traveling companions: W.F. Temple of Oakland was an organizer for the Woodmen of the World; James Carroll, well known throughout the San Joaquin Valley, had supervised street pavement in its principal towns; Archie Keller was a book agent, Leonard Erwin a mattress maker, and Charles Owens a "racing man." For coal salesman Charles A. Sessions, this trip was a sentimental journey. Rather than await his son's arrival in Oakland as planned, he would surprise the lad in Fresno and ride back with him.[15]

Set apart in colorful but silent splendor was a bridal party of four Chinese, whose arrival in Fresno would climax lavish wedding preparations in that city's

Chinatown. Beside richly robed, seventeen-year-old Ah Quoy, betrothed to a Fresno raisin merchant, sat her servant Lee Sou. The girl's mother and brother occupied seats directly behind her. Quan Long had forsaken his duties as head of Hung Tuck and Hung Sing long enough to escort his sister on her bridal journey, that gesture adding considerably to the impressiveness of the occasion. Next to him, fifty-year-old Tung Tai Gong clutched a small leather bag within the folds of her silk garments, determined that nothing loosen her grip on the precious dowry of gold coin, diamonds and jewelry.[16]

In the early darkness, the *Owl* sped past Stege, Richmond and San Pablo, veering sharply to the northeast after Giant, and skirting San Pablo Bay and Carquinez Strait at Rodeo, Crockett, and Port Costa. Soon Martinez, Avon, and Bay Point also disappeared into the night. After Cornwall,[17] where the waters of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers first intermingle as they flow seaward, the train lost sight of watercourses and headed into the San Joaquin Valley.

Shortly after passing Brentwood, Engineer Lewis C. Kerr noticed a leaking tube in the boiler of the *Owl*'s locomotive—steam escaping into the flue threatened to extinguish the boiler's fire. Steaming poorly, the train labored to a dead stop just as it reached Byron in the southeastern corner of Contra Costa County, twenty minutes behind schedule. Kerr, a Southern Pacific engineer with a long service record, immediately summoned Conductor Dolan and instructed him to send a brakeman to the rear of the train to flag the approaching *Stockton Flyer*, now less than thirty minutes behind the *Owl*. Dolan dispatched front brakeman Ed Austin and rear brakeman Cole on that urgent mission, Austin soon returning to report that Cole was trotting back, swinging the lantern. Austin assured Dolan that there was ample time to properly signal the *Flyer*. Unperturbed rear car passengers laughed and joked about the unscheduled stop and the slowness of the *Owl*.[18] Unknown to the passengers aboard the *Owl*, the *Flyer* had also been delayed at Port Costa, its only stop between Oakland and Tracy. In order to regain these lost minutes, Engineer James McGuire highballed his train faster than the usual rate of sixty miles per hour. At the same time, he was alert to potential dangers on the upcoming long, straight, and somewhat downgrade stretch of track, and also aware that his powerful and heavy locomotive was pulling an unusually light train on this particular run.[19]

The *Flyer* raced across the dark plain, the night crisp, cloudless, and clear except for occasional swirls of thick black smoke falling back from the defective locomotive that now preceded him by only minutes. Then McGuire strained to make out a sudden unnatural brightness far ahead along the track. For an instant, winking dots of light seemed to appear and then vanish. Abruptly and with horrifying certainty, the steady glow of red warning lights rushed toward him. In a desperate but hopeless attempt to check the deadly momentum of the leviathan locomotive, McGuire sprang to ram closed the throttle, choke off steam and air, sound a warning blast, brake, and reverse.[20]

When the *Flyer*'s giant locomotive collided with the *Owl*, it telescoped the *Owl*'s rear coach. Various accounts portray the passenger car run through like "a cannonball through a log," "a knife cutting cheese," "a gigantic sword driven by the arm of a monster." Then it plowed another six feet into the diner car ahead. Chester H. Rowell, editor of the

Preceding the Owl Limited *by just thirty minutes, the* Stockton Flyer *headed out of the Oakland Mole in late afternoon. It stopped briefly at Oakland's Sixteenth Street Station (pictured here) before heading up the San Francisco Bay shoreline and looping into the San Joaquin Valley.* CHS, San Francisco

Fresno Republican, who was seated with Frank Short in the forward part of the *Owl*'s dining car, later described "the fearful crash, then total darkness, followed by a series of grinding, crushing blows . . . broken glass everywhere, and people thrown in every direction. The rear car was a more horrifying sight than busy men had time to realize at the time, the back half in ominous silence except for the hissing of escaping steam. Against the front end was packed a mass of broken timbers, bent iron and writhing, screaming, crushed andscalded humanity."[21]

According to Conductor Charles Schu of the *Flyer,* the roof of the wrecked car rested on the boiler like a great umbrella, the sides and seats hanging on either side, with men, women and children pinned between. Along with brakemen C.F. Duncan and C.J. Schwartz, he grimly set to work in the dark amid clouds of steam, wielding axes to free the living and recover the dead. Dr. Bird of Byron Hot Springs, a mile away, quickly arrived at the scene, accompanied by Dr. J. Davidson and a trained nurse, both guests at the resort. The Byron church became a temporary hospital, and victims were also cared for at the Springs hotel. A wrecking train dispatched from Oakland steamed up with a crew of medical and rescue workers and conveyed the most seriously injured to the Southern Pacific hospital in San Francisco.[22]

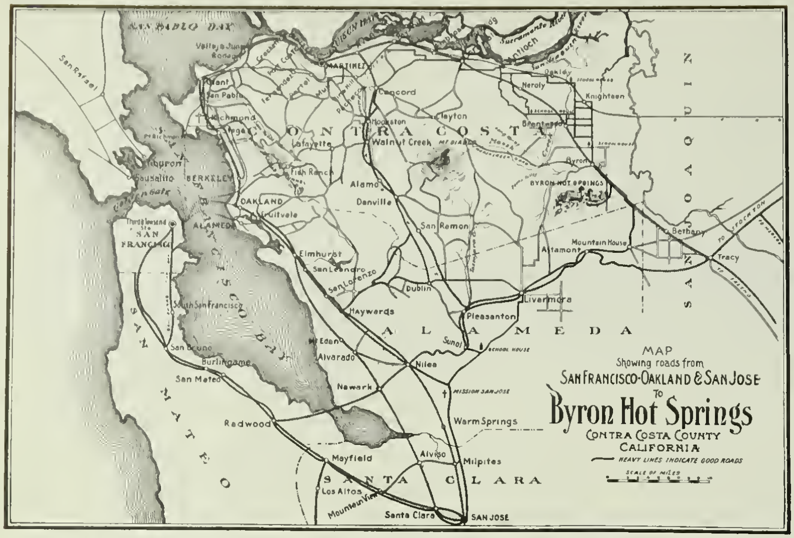
Byron area residents rushed from town and nearby farms to render assistance, building warming and light-giving fires along the tracks, removing wreckage, and tending the injured and dying. Six-year-old Ellen Hosie and her sister were left in their grandmother's care as their mother and aunt rushed to the scene. Minutes later Mrs. Hosie struggled to unwind great lengths of cloth from the bound, scalded foot of a Chinese woman, the victim resisting mightily all the while.[23]

Editor Rowell noted that among the survivors, "not one person in his agony forgot that others were also suffering," and he saw or heard "not one cowardly or selfish act or word that night." Passenger James Carroll reportedly displayed "signal heroism in trying to assist the injured and preserve calm when so fearfully hurt himself," and he was gratefully remembered in floral offerings by survivors when laid to final rest in Sacramento ten days later.[24]

Fortune favored other near victims in inexplicable ways. A.J. Post of Fowler, sitting in a rear seat of the *Owls* last car next to bridegroon-to-be Eugene Lee, was dropped through an opening to the ground beside the car, even as the *Flyer*'s engine forged still further into the stalled *Owl.* Fowler was able to scramble to his feet and walk to a nearby fence, where he steadied himself and returned to assist others. A. Cohn, like most other riders of the *Flyer,* was sent sprawling at the moment of impact and knocked senseless, but he counted himself lucky to have waited for the *Flyer* rather than yielding to the persuasion of others to join them in the crowded rear car of the earlier-departing *Owl.*[25]

On December 24, when the *Stockton Daily Record* reported that the body of a young woman still lay unidentified in the Oakland morgue, the parents of nineteen-year-old Mattie Franks expressed fear that it was their daughter. Since phoning her father on Saturday afternoon that she would arrive home on the evening train, they had received no word from or about her. When asked by the *Record* why he had not gone to Oakland to identify the remains, Mr. Franks was forced to admit to financial embarrassment, whereupon the Southern Pacific quickly provided free transportation. One of the happier notes among newspaper follow-up stories was the notice that Mattie's return had been delayed and she was safely home.[26]

Twenty-seven persons died at Byron that December evening or within days after, including the entire


MAP
Showing roads from
San Francisco-Oakland & San Jose
To
Byron Hot Springs
Contra Costa County
California
Heavy lines indicate good roads
Scale of miles
San Pablo Bay
Contra Costa
Alameda
Santa Clara
San Mateo
San Joaquin
Martinez
Concord
Clayton
Walnut Creek
Lafayette
Alamo
Danville
San Ramon
Byron
Byron Hot Springs
Brentwood
Knightsen
Oakley
Antioch
Neroly
Richmond
Berkeley
Oakland
Alameda
San Francisco
Sausalito
Elmhurst
San Leandro
San Lorenzo
Haywards
Dublin
Pleasanton
Livermore
Altamont
Mountain House
Bethany
Tracy
Sunol
Niles
Alvarado
Newark
Warm Springs
Mission San Jose
Milpitas
Alviso
Mayfield
Los Altos
Mountain View
Santa Clara
San Jose
Redwood
San Mateo
Burlingame
San Bruno
South San Francisco

Some fifty miles east of Oakland was Byron Hot Springs, accessible either by train or by "the finest macadamized or graveled roads." CHS, San Francisco

(Facing page) With incomplete reports of the accident, the Sunday morning San Francisco Call *could only suggest the extent of the grisly disaster. Pictured in the vignettes are the Byron Hot Spring Hotel and passengers Frank Short and Chester H. Rowell, who escaped injury although riding in the dining car.* Call, December 21, 1902

Chinese wedding group, Mrs. Mayer and three of her children; Temple, the Woodmen official; Owens, the racing man; Erwin, the mattress maker; the senior Sessions; and a number of college students. Flags at half-mast signaled a joyless Christmas Eve in Fresno following afternoon services for six victims, including Clarence Olufs, to whom the entire high school paid tribute. Two more young men were buried on Christmas Day.[27]

Most of the railroad employees operating the trains escaped unhurt, but George Washington, chief cook in the dining car, and three additional cooks and two waiters were among the scores seriously burned and injured. A weak and shaken Engineer McGuire testified on December 30 that just before the collision he saw an unusual number of white lights at or near Byron as the *Flyer* neared that town, but that he did not see the red warning lights in time to stop. While his frantic application of the air brakes halted the revolution of the *Flyer*'s wheels, it could not overcome the terrible forward thrust of the cars. He whistled when directly opposite the whistling post; perhaps 1000 feet farther along he suddenly saw the red lights of the *Owl* and flagman Cole, then applied the brakes the instant he saw the signal. From the time of whistling until spotting the signal, about ten seconds elapsed, the train moving approximately 88 feet a second.[28]

In answer to questions regarding the visibility on this clear night and the distance required for stopping the train, McGuire responded that although one might see lights a mile distant, the draft and blur on the windows from an engine traveling at high speed considerably affected the eyes. He felt that stopping his fast-moving train on the long downgrade would have required 3500 feet.[29]

Asked if it was a safe practice to run such fast trains as the *Flyer* and *Owl* with only a ten-minute headway, an attorney and a superintendent for the railroad testified that it was done because the public demanded quick service. Furthermore, it was added, the ten-minute headway was accepted by all railroads.[30]

In January the inquiring jury found that the crews of the *Flyer* and the *Owl* "were operating under the general rules of the company at the time of the collision, but had failed in large measure to take advantage of all precautious which said rules specifically allow." The jury's report also noted that similar accidents would continue to occur unless the block signal system to maintain space between trains was established over the entire line. Both Engineer McGuire and Brakeman Cole, the signaled and the signaler, were later dismissed from their positions with the railroad.[31]

Just as it was to be years before the use of a block system was made mandatory on rail lines, regular inspection of locomotive boilers and other equipment was still a long time in the future. The need for such

gts 17 to 30 The Call. Pages 17 to 30

LUME XCIII—NO. 21. SAN FRANCISCO, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1902—FORTY-FOUR PAGES. PRICE FIVE CENTS.

AST TRAIN CRASHES INTO CARS AND TEN PASSENGERS LOSE LIVES IN APPALLING WRECK NEAR BYRON

A TERRIBLE DISASTER on the railroad near Byron, Contra Costa County, early last evening resulted in ten deaths outright and the injury of more than a score of passengers.

ACHES ONCEAL HORRORS

ies Are Found ushed Amid Debris.

nen, Children and n Among the Injured.

Persons Have Extra- nary Escapes From Awful Fate.

Special Dispatch to The Call.

BYROH, Dec. 20.—Ten persons were killed and twenty-seven injured in a collision to-night between the southbound Los Angeles "Owl" and the Stockton flyer. It was a rear-end collision. the engine of the local e way through the last coach rt, which was filled with Fresno e passengers who escaped in- h were horled to the far part crushed in between the debris, their sufferings and ensified a hundred fold by the scalding steam which poured them from the shattered boiler ckton engine.

left the Oakland mole about 5 d on the way toward this point ed that there was a leak in the 's engine. This increased to xtent that it was deemed ad- stop here to take up a freight a relief.

n officials knew that No. 54, on local, was following half an nd and the flagman was sent the track to give warning of ar of the Owl. It is said that on train, in charge of Engineer nd Fireman Ed Joice, got the ignal in due time and gave the onse with whistle blasts. Why ng train was not checked, how- ot been thus far explained, tho ould give the facts being num- ng the badly injured.

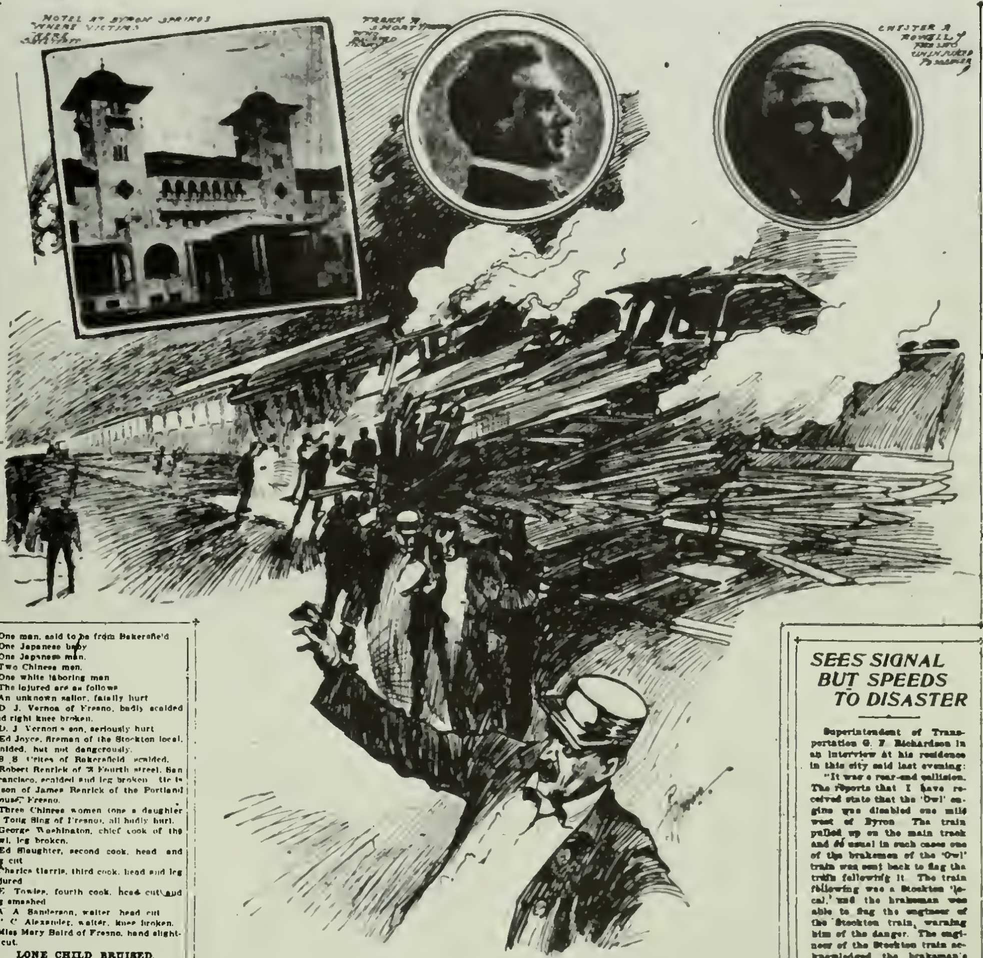
ASH OF TRAINS.

e the train with apparently y diminution of speed and the ch was completely telescoped. did the local meet the rear of t the end of the second car. g car, was smashed in. It aculous that the horror of fire dded to the direful disaster. ned-up victims were seemingly ntial intervention spared from the oil burners were extin- n the crash came.

ickly came to the passengers penned in the wreckage, ones being brought into play and and train crew lending eager agers were sent to Byron Hot short distance away, and Dr. Springs, with Dr. J. D. David- ano, who was a guest, came the station.

ourse accompanied them, and e at once given to the man- d and scalded sufferers, who near the track. Every effort to alleviate their sufferings, ho were unable to proceed on y were taken either to the el or to the church in Byron, temporarily transformed into

he passengers of No. 54 were t all of the crew of the Owl art.


HOTEL AT BYRON SPRINGS WHERE VICTIMS WERE
FRANK H. SHORT WHO ESCAPED
CHESTER H. ROWELL FRESNO UNINJURED PASSENGER

SCENE NEAR BYRON, IN CONTRA COSTA COUNTY, WHERE THE COLLISION OCCURRED. THE BYRON SPRINGS HOTEL WAS USED AS A HOSPITAL. THE PORTRAITS ARE OF FRESNO MEN WHO ESCAPED IN THE TERRIBLE CRASH OF THE TRAINS.

One man, said to be from Bakersfield
One Japanese baby
One Japanese man.
Two Chinese men.
One white laboring man

The injured are as follows

An unknown sailor, fatally hurt

D. J. Vernon of Fresno, badly scalded and right knee broken.

D. J. Vernon's son, seriously hurt

Ed Joyce, fireman of the Stockton local, scalded, but not dangerously.

S. S. Crites of Bakersfield, scalded.

Robert Renrick of 38 Fourth street, San Francisco, scalded and leg broken. He is a son of James Renrick of the Portland House, Fresno.

Three Chinese women (one a daughter of Tong Sing of Fresno), all badly hurt.

George Washington, chief cook of the Owl, leg broken.

Ed Slaughter, second cook, head and leg cut.

Charles Harris, third cook, head and leg injured.

E. Towles, fourth cook, head cut and leg smashed.

A. A. Sanderson, waiter, head cut.

C. C. Alexander, waiter, knee broken.

Miss Mary Baird of Fresno, hand slightly cut.

LONE CHILD BRUISED.

A little girl named Dorothy, 9 years old, going to Fresno in charge of the conductor, was slightly bruised.

Engineer Maguire of the Stockton flyer was severely but not fatally hurt.

W. Emil Mayer, 1043 Golden Gate avenue, San Francisco, badly scalded.

J. F. Carroll of Suisun and Fresno, representative of City Street Improvement Company, scalded and bruised.

Carl Keller and wife of Florence, Colo., scalded and badly hurt.

W. L. Temple of Oakland, general organizer of the Woodmen of the World, scalded and bruised.

Richard Post of Fowler, badly scalded.

George Moke, a Japanese of San Francisco, head cut and badly injured.

Len Irwin of Fresno, son of Mrs. Gerrard, 725 G street, Fresno, scalded and bruised, but not dangerously.

F. F. Eastman of Paris, Maine, fatally injured.

Lou Len, Chinese, 706 Sacramento street, San Francisco, scalded.

Mabel Deasy of Modesto, sister of Mrs. Kittrell of Fresno, severely but not dangerously scalded.

Frank Short, the well known lawyer of Fresno, had a narrow escape. A moment or two before the collision he left the Fresno coach to enter the dining-room car to take dinner with Chester H. Rowell, editor of the Fresno Republican. The latter gentleman escaped injury also.

THE DEAD.

CLARENCE OLUFF, FRESNO.
THREE WOMEN.
TWO WHITE MEN.
TWO CHINESE.
ONE JAPANESE.
ONE JAPANESE BABY.

THE INJURED.

D. J. VERNON, Fresno, scalded, knee broken.
D. J. VERNON JR., Fresno, serious bruises.
EDWARD JOYCE, fireman Stockton local, scalded.
S. S. CRITES, Bakersfield, scalded.
ROBERT RENRICK, 38 Fourth street, S. F., scalded.
THREE CHINESE WOMEN, badly bruised.
GEORGE WASHINGTON, Owl cook, leg broken.
ED. SLAUGHTER, second cook, head and leg cut.
CHARLES HARRIS, third cook, head and leg injured.
E. TOWLES, fourth cook, head cut, leg smashed.
A. A. SANDERSON, waiter, head cut.
MISS MARY BAIRD, Fresno, hand slightly cut.
DOROTHY ———, aged 9, slightly bruised.
ENGINEER MAGUIRE, severely hurt.
W. EMILY MAYER, 1043 Golden Gate ave., S. F.
J. F. CARROLL, Suisun, scalded and bruised.
CARL KELLER AND WIFE, Colorado, scalded.
W. L. TEMPLE, Oakland, scalded.
RICHARD POST, Fowler, Cal., scalded.
GEO. MOKA, Japanese, S. F., head cut.
LEN IRWIN, Fresno, scalded.
F. F. EASTMAN, Paris, Me., fatally injured.
LOU LEN, Chinese, 706 Sacramento st., S. F., scalded.
MABEL DEASY, Modesto, scalded.
C. C. ALEXANDER, waiter, knee broken.

SEES SIGNAL BUT SPEEDS TO DISASTER

Superintendent of Transportation G. F. Richardson in an interview at his residence in this city said last evening:

"It was a rear-end collision. The reports that I have received state that the 'Owl' engine was disabled one mile west of Byron. The train pulled up on the main track and as usual in such cases one of the brakemen of the 'Owl' train was sent back to flag the train following it. The train following was a Stockton 'local,' and the brakeman was able to flag the engineer of the Stockton train, warning him of the danger. The engineer of the Stockton train acknowledged the brakeman's warning but kept right on running his train and hence the rear-end collision. Why the engineer of the Stockton train failed to stop is a matter that will be investigated later."

SANTA ROSA MAN TO WED RICH KANSAN'S DAUGHTER

Invitations Issued for Marriage of Miss Florence Rockwell and James Rufus Edwards.

JUNCTION CITY, Kans., Dec. 20.—Mr. and Mrs. Bertrand Rockwell of this city have issued invitations for the marriage of their daughter Florence to James Rufus Edwards of Santa Rosa, Cal. The wedding will take place Thursday evening, January 8, 1903, at the Church of the Covenant. There will be a reception later at the Rockwell residence.

The bride-to-be is the only daughter of the wealthiest man in Central Kansas, who made a fortune in the early days of Kansas out of Government contracting and has added to it since as a general merchant and banker. The Rockwells have always been the backbone of Junction City.

WARNING SIGNALS IGNORED

Queer Conduct of Engineer on a Flyer.

Church Transformed Into a Hospital for Victims.

Great Difficulty Experienced in Identifying the Dead.

Special Dispatch to The Call.

OAKLAND, Dec. 20.—As soon as word of the wreck reached Division Superintendent Palmer's office at Oakland pier, J. C. Wilder, the assistant superintendent, took charge of the arrangements for relief and then departed for the scene of the disaster. The wrecking train was hurriedly made up, with a Pullman car and a day coach added, to be used for the injured.

Dr J P Dunn went from Oakland and the company sent physicians from all available points. A relief crew went from Tracy. Meager details were received at Oakland pier of the extent of the wreck. The trains left Oakland pier this afternoon half an hour apart. The Owl departed first. It was in charge of Engineer Louis Kerr and Conductor William Dolan. The locomotive on the Owl was steaming badly and making trouble.

The trains left Brentwood according to rule, ten minutes apart. About a mile west of Byron the Owl came to a stop, the engine there giving out or Kerr stopping to adjust some part of the machinery.

Conductor Dolan reports that he sent a brakeman back to flag the approaching Stockton train and that the brakeman did signal the train and received the necessary reply signal. But the Stockton flyer did not stop. It ran on, and before the disaster could be averted the flyer had struck the last coach, a combination car, used to accommodate local travelers. It is to the rear of the dining car, and gentlemen find it convenient for smoking and as a lounging place after meals.

Engineer Milton Maguire and Conductor Charles Erho were in charge of the Stockton train. At the superintendent's office the officials were in amazement that the flyer had passed the flag signal, as was reported to them. Half a mile distance would have been ample to protect the standing train and as the two trains are known to run pretty close to schedule each trainman knew it was essential to get out flag signals just as soon as possible.

It was surmised that the flyer's air brakes might not have been working properly and that this accounted for the failure to slow down in time to prevent the rear-end collision.

The work of removing bodies of the dead and caring for the injured was prosecuted with all possible dispatch. The wounded were taken to a little church at Byron, which was converted into a temporary hospital. Here the surgeons sent by the Southern Pacific officers did much of their work.

Behind the flyer was the Fresno local. As soon as it reached the scene it was abandoned, because of the wreck ahead, and the passengers were put aboard the Owl, which resumed the interrupted journey at 11:10 o'clock to-night, with such coaches as were not too badly inspection, however, was not unrecognized by the reporting journals closest to the Byron tragedy. The *Oakland Tribune* revealed that a great shortage of Southern Pacific railroad cars and locomotives currently existed, and that as a result locomotives long in disuse were being run regularly and discarded passenger engines were being refitted to handle freight.[32]

The *Stockton Daily Record* exposed another safety dilemma constantly faced by trainmen. At the end of a run, engineers routinely noted orders for repairs in an entry book at a track's roundhouse where the locomotives' direction was switched, but the men were never informed whether or not their requests for repairs had been heeded. Frequently they took locomotives out that were known to be unsafe for themselves and their passengers. Faced with their employer's ultimatum to take the engine or quit, the engineers usually accepted the risk. In this respect, railroad safety regulations lagged far behind rules governing river steamers requiring that a vessel could not be operated without an inspection certificate signed by a government official.[33]

State and federal legislation to promote the safety of employees and travelers upon the railroads was finally achieved in the first decade of the new century, in part because accidents like that at Byron continued to take many lives each year.[34] But reform of railroad practices and policy evolved only after years of inquiry and experimentation and the gradual reconciliation of carriers' financial interest with the public interest.

In 1903 and 1910, the national Safety Appliances Act of 1893 was amended to establish standards for equipment to be used on all railroad cars, and the Hours of Service Act of 1907 aimed to reduce human error resulting from employees overworking. The Accident Reports Act of 1910 provided for official investigation into accidents resulting in casualties, and the Boiler Inspection Act of 1911 guaranteed supervision and periodic inspection of trains.[35]

In 1911, Max Thelen, attorney for the California Railroad Commission, conducted a thorough inspection of the state's railroad operations and facilities. His subsequent recommendations included the appointment of commission members who possessed sufficient expertise to inspect the physical condition of all tracks, stations, plants, and other facilities and equipment, and the requirement that regular reports be made on the quality and efficiency of the service rendered to the public. The Commission, he continued, should be given immediate notice of every accident in order to investigate and adopt measures to prevent reoccurrence. The bulk of Thelen's recommendations were incorporated into the Public Utilities Act of 1911.[36]

The Transportation Act of 1920 added a new dimension to railroad regulation in California and the nation. It shifted the legal emphasis from mere enforcement of restrictive measures to the recognition of a positive public responsibility to provide adequate and safe transportation service. This landmark legislation also ensured that the installation of automatic train- control and other safety devices was no longer left entirely to the discretion of the railroads. Accidents like the Byron tragedy would not so regularly and needlessly happen again.[37]

Notes

1. H.G. Prout, "Safety in Railroad Travel," *Scribner's Magazine,* September 1889, p. 238. Based on his survey of equipment and the number of reported casualties per millions of passenger miles traveled, the author concluded that rail travel was generally safe. However, accident data prior to 1901 was inaccurate and incomplete. For example, accidents occurring on intrastate routes frequently were unreported to the ICC. The enactment of the first accident report law in March 1901 produced the following statistics: For the year ending June 30, 1902, 864 passengers and employees were killed and 8632 injured in collisions, derailments, and miscellaneous train accidents. In the next year 1059 were killed and 10,864 in-

The stalled Owl*'s rear coach and part of the dining car were nearly unrecognizable masses of steel after the* Flyer *plowed into them.* Delmer Wilder Collection

jured. These figures do not include the large number of casualties suffered by employees involved in coupling and switching accidents or those incurred by passengers getting on and off cars or falling from cars. *U.S. Interstate Commerce Commission Accident Bulletins 1-8* (Washington, D.C., 1902 and 1903).

In California, the total number of passengers, trespassers, and employees killed during the year ending June 30, 1903, was 329 and injuries numbered 1792, compared with 226 killed and 1247 injured the previous year. *Annual Report of Board of Railroad Commissioners of California, December 31, 1903* (Sacramento, 1904).

2. 1870 (403.49 miles of track); 1880 (2195 miles); 1890 (4077.19 miles). John F. Stover, *American Railroads* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 223. Also, "California and the Railroads," *Overland Monthly*, June 1895, p. 681; and "California Railroads 1876," Bancroft Scraps, Vol. 80, Pt. 1, p. 229, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
3. Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Transportation Frontier; Trans-Mississippi West 1865-1890* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964).
4. Bancroft Scraps, Vol. 80, Pt. 1, p. 232; *San Francisco Bulletin*, December 15, 1877.
5. The Westinghouse air brake, patented in 1869, was widely used on U.S. railroads. The Miller coupler and buffer, patented in 1863, reduced the dangers and discomforts of coupling. Horace Porter, "Railway Passenger Travel," *Scribner's Magazine*, September 1888, pp. 301-2.
6. Bancroft Scraps, Vol. 80, Pt. 3, p. 853.
7. Bancroft Scraps, Vol. 80, Pt. 4, p. 1317; "Protection on Railways," *Sacramento Union*, November 1869.
8. Frank Dickinson, *History of the California Railroad Commission*. Typescript, unnumbered, Bancroft Library.
9. I.L. Sharfman, *The Interstate Commerce Commission*, Pt. I (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1931), 245-246.
10. Ibid., p. 276.
11. Ibid., p. 279.
12. Put into service in December 1898, the *Owl* was an important advance in rail transportation on the Pacific Coast. Leaving the San Francisco Bay Area in late afternoon, it arrived in Los Angeles early the next morning, making the nearly 500 mile run in less than fifteen hours, making only four stops.
13. *San Francisco Bulletin*, December 21, 1902, p. 1; *Stockton Daily Record*, December 22, 1901, p. 6.
14. *Stockton Independent*, December 21, 1902, p. 1.
15. *Stockton Daily Record*, December 22, 1902, p. 6; *Oakland Tribune*, December 22, 1902, p. 12.
16. *Stockton Independent*, December 24, 1902, p. 1.
17. Cornwall was the railroad and post office designation for Pittsburg Landing, connected by the Pittsburg railroad to the coal mines of Somersville. *History of Contra Costa County, Calif.* (San Francisco: W.A. Slocum and Co., 1882).
18. *Stockton Daily Record*, December 22, 1902, p. 6.
19. Ibid.; *Fresno Weekly Democrat*, December 31, 1902, p. 1.
20. *Fresno Weekly Democrat*, January 7, 1903, p. 13; December 31, 1902, p. 1.
21. *Stockton Daily Record*, December 22, 1902, p. 6; *Stockton Independent*, December 21, 1902, p. 1; *Oakland Tribune*, December 22, 1902, p. 1.
22. *Stockton Daily Record*, December 22, 1902, p. 6; *Stockton Independent*, December 21, 1902, p. 1; *San Francisco Bulletin*, December 21, 1902, p. 1.
23. Interview with Ellen Hosie Ladd, Stockton, California, Sept. 30, 1982.
24. *Stockton Daily Record*, December 22, 1902, p. 6; *Fresno Weekly Democrat*, December 31, 1902, p. 7.
25. *Stockton Independent*, December 21, 1902, p. 1; *Stockton Daily Record*, December 22, 1902, p. 6.
26. *Stockton Daily Record*, December 22, 1902, p. 1; December 24, 1902, p. 4.
27. *Stockton Daily Record*, December 22, 1902, p. 12; *Oakland Tribune*, December 22, 1902, p. 12; *Stockton Independent*, December 21, 1902, p. 1.
28. *Stockton Independent*, December 21, 1902, p. 1; *Fresno Weekly Democrat*, December 31, 1902, p. 1.
29. *Fresno Weekly Democrat*, December 31, 1902, p. 1.
30. Ibid.
31. *Fresno Weekly Democrat*, January 7, 1903, p. 13; January 14, 1903, p. 7.
32. *Oakland Tribune*, December 29, 1902, p. 3.
33. *Stockton Daily Record*, December 24, 1902, p. 2.
34. *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1949).
35. Sharfman, *ICC*, pp. 249-275.
36. Dickinson, *Railroad Commission*.
37. Ibid., pp. 177, 279.

Phil Townsend Hanna

Will the Bay Bridges End

Before the completion of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge in 1936 and the Golden Gate Bridge in 1937, Westways *editor Phil Townsend Hanna speculated on the unknown effects of opening San Francisco to* contra costa *commuter traffic. Among the possibilities, he suggested, were the depopulation of the city as a residential center and the unleashing of a daily cavalcade of vehicles which the cramped city was ill-equipped to handle. Hanna's editorial is reprinted from* Westways, *September 1935.*

Now that the towers are up, catwalks have been strung, and cable-spinning has started, Franciscanos and their neighbors about the bay are beginning to wonder if the bay bridges will, after all, effectively end San Francisco's long-suffered isolation.

Confined to a narrow tongue of land, surrounded by the sea on three sides, and with an imposing mountain barrier on the fourth, San Francisco for years has prayed for a more reliable form of contact with the *contra costas* of the bay—Oakland and the east bay coastal plain, and Sausalito and the northern shore.

In these areas—and in these areas alone—is there sufficient room for the city to expand and achieve its ultimate high destiny. Whether it is destined to do so or not will be determined some time about 1937 when the Golden Gate Bridge, connecting the city with the Marin shore, and the San Francisco-Oakland bridge, joining it to the eastern mainland, are completed. Whether they are successful in decentralizing a now all-too-highly concentrated population is dependent upon two things, viz: the integration, as a part of the bridges, of adequate rapid transit facilities, and the incorporation in the traffic systems, at their sundry termini, of provisions for the free and quick dispersal and absorption of human and vehicular traffic.

It is incredible that a city of such a size as San Francisco should have been situated in so inaccessible and so constricted a locality. The explanation is to be found, as so many similar explanations are, in human selfishness and cupidity. By 1847, when the stars patently indicated that the great city of the Pacific must rise somewhere on the shores of the bay of St. Francis, there were four possible sites, three of them at the time sparsely settled. These were Yerba Buena cove, between Clark and Rincon points, and a part of the present city; Sausalito, Benicia, and the east bay where Oakland and adjacent cities subsequently were built.

Only two of these sites—Benicia and the present San Francisco—were seriously considered and actively projected. Sponsors of the former were Robert Semple, Thomas O. Larkin, and M.G. Vallejo, and of the latter, Washington A. Bartlett, *alcalde*, or chief magistrate, of Yerba Buena, and Joseph L. Folsom, quartermaster. Proponents of both sites admittedly had a pecuniary interest in them, but this was secondary with Semple, Larkin and Vallejo, whereas it was primary with Barlett and Folsom.

The Benicia site was named "Francisca" in honor of Vallejo's wife, Francisca Benicia Vallejo. Cognizant of the lure and potency of the name "San Francisco," familiar in maritime circles for almost two centuries, Bartlett, in his capacity as *alcalde*, officially appropriated it for Yerba Buena on January 30, 1847. Thereupon, Vallejo and his associates changed the name of Francisca to "Benicia." From then on the contest was decidedly in favor of the peninsula village. A city grew—very much in spite of rather than because of—its location.

The folly of choosing the peninsula rather than the mainland as the locale for a metropolis, has been universally criticized, but none has more cogently excoriated the procedure than the eminent California historian, Hubert Howe Bancroft. Writing as early as

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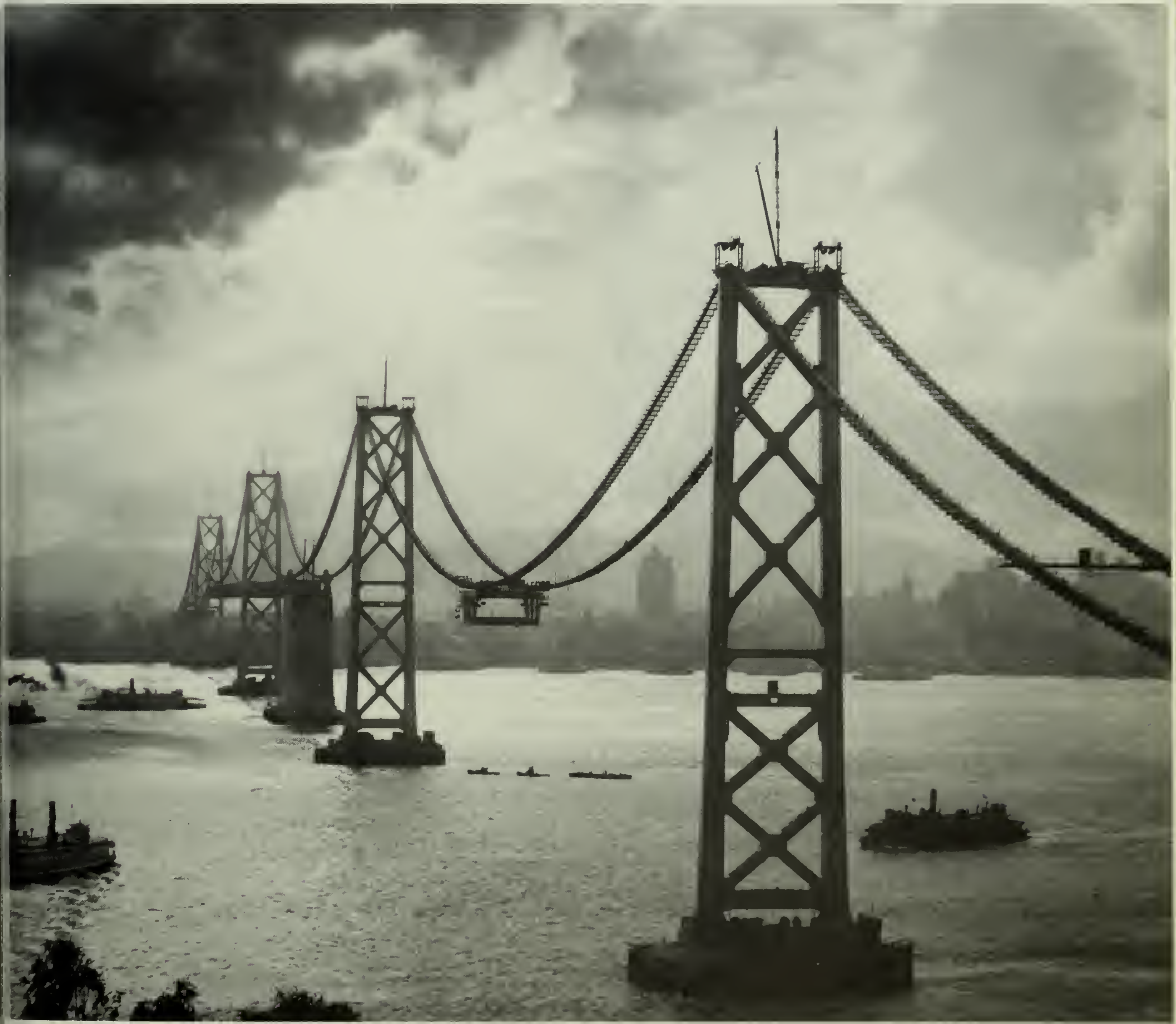
Reprinted from Westways, *September 1935*

San Francisco's Isolation?



Path of escape, or futile monument? Here is the Oakland Bay Bridge, seen from Yerba Buena Island. The horizontal cross-members on each tower will support the viaducts for automobile and rapid-transit rail traffic. CHS, San Francisco

There will be loosed in a city with none-too-adequate street & highway facilities a daily cavalcade of 10,598 vehicles.

1888, before automobiles had added vastly to the chaos of all cities, however spaciously devised, Bancroft remarked:

> "San Francisco . . . was convenient to shipmasters, however inconvenient to Californians; it suited those who possessed the power to make the change; and now throughout all time, while moulder the bones of Bartlett and Folsom, the people may sit upon the fence and whistle for a remedy. They may spend thousands of years, and millions upon millions of money in a useless and enforced crossing and recrossing of the bay for an infinitely worse spot than was there awaiting them on the other side."

In the interval since Bancroft, himself a Franciscano, wrote so mordantly, almost half a century has elapsed. Each year congestion has become more annoying and San Francisco's fatuous location more apparent. Engineering and mechanical skill have been liberally employed to correct deplorable conditions, but with no great success. Two bridges across the lower bay and another across Carquinez Strait now are in operation, but these are of little service. For contacts with business neighbors and to gain access to their homes, scattered in a wide semi-circle about the bay and down the peninsula, Franciscanos have been forced to rely upon an extensive and efficient, though by its inherent nature unsatisfactory, system of ferries and fast short-line railroads.

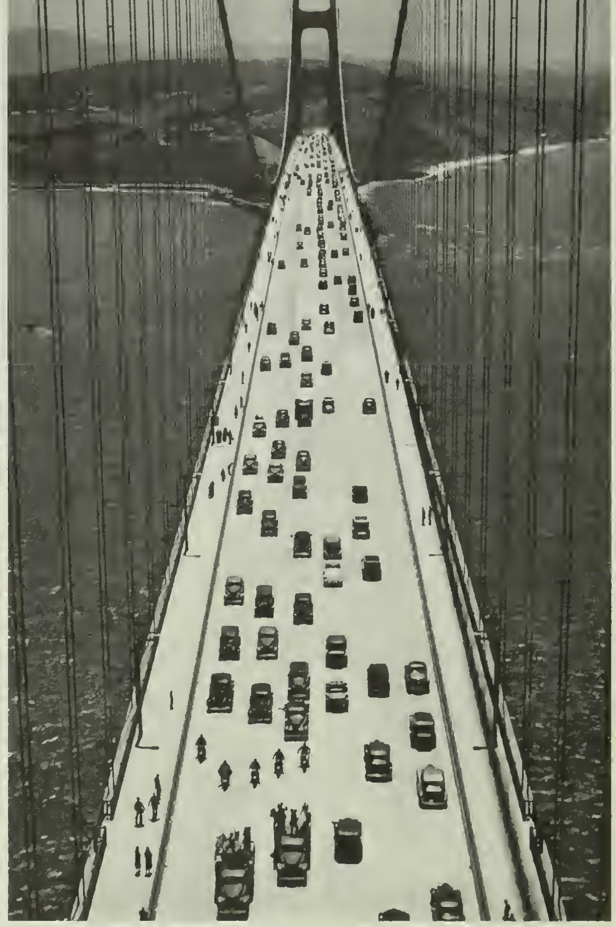
Now, with the Golden Gate and San Francisco-Oakland bridges, the city is making a supreme effort to remedy its intolerable affliction. Into these structures will go some of the millions of which Bancroft speaks—$77,200,000 in fact, into the San Francisco-Oakland structure, and $35,000,000 into the span across the Golden Gate.

If the remedy proves effective, the investment will have been a wise one. If it isn't effective, San Francisco must reconcile itself to an uncertain future. This is its last chance to cast off its throttling fetters; there's nothing else to be done. The construction of the bridges, at the outset, was unequivocally applauded by every citizen from the lowliest to the mightiest, for they were viewed as instruments of deliverance. They are, generally speaking, still so hailed, but the hysteria has subsided somewhat and not a few individuals have come to be assailed with certain misgivings about their utility.

Provision has been made for rapid transit over the San Francisco-Oakland bridge. The structure carries two decks, the upper to be devoted to private passenger vehicles, including buses, and the lower to heavy trucks and interurban railroad trains. Engineers have estimated that during the first year's operation of the bridge (1937), the structure will carry 16,000,000 people in 8,000,000 private vehicles, and 35,640,000 passengers by interurban railroad. This means an average daily automobile traffic of 10,958 vehicles, carrying approximately 22,000 people each way, and an average daily interurban railroad traffic of 48,822 people each way. This means an average daily movement across the bay of about one-fifth of San Francisco's population. Remember this, for we shall see later how it may affect the entire bay region.

The estimate for railroad traffic may or may not be high; so too may or may not be the estimates for vehicular traffic. If the latter estimates are approximately correct, transportation is destined to be more costly than ever before to Franciscanos domiciled on the Oakland shore, for Mr. Motoring Commuter

Automobiles cross the Golden Gate Bridge on opening day, 1937. Streams of commuter traffic soon followed. CHLS, San Francisco



will be confronted with the necessity for paying tolls both ways (at a rate not yet definitely determined) plus, in the majority of cases, daily parking fees. Moreover, there will be loosed in a city with none-too-adequate street and highway facilities a daily cavalcade of 10,958 vehicles.

So much, for the time being, for the Oakland-San Francisco bridge. Plans for the Golden Gate Bridge, at the moment, make no provision for interurban railroads. A high-speed monorail connecting the Marin shore via the bridge with San Francisco and continuing down the peninsula perhaps as far as San José has been suggested as an ideal form of rapid transit, but it has gained little in the way of public or official endorsement.

First year's operations of the Golden Gate Bridge contemplate an average daily traffic each way of 2,935 vehicles, carrying (if the same ratio holds true as for the San Francisco-Oakland bridge) 5,870 passengers. This raises the total number of automobiles ushered into and out of the city across the two bridges each day to 27,786, and envisions a movement of almost a quarter of the city's population.

If these figures hold true, a mighty shift in population may result in the entire bay region. Already trans-bay interests are conscious of this possibility. On both the Marin and Oakland shores we may expect to see in the near future aggressive campaigns to demonstrate to Franciscanos the superior advantages to be enjoyed there as residential communities.

Retail establishments largely dependent on the resident Franciscanos for their patronage are displaying apprehension. So, too, are communities down the peninsula who fear a general exodus. There is less ground, it may be said, for their alarm than for the alarms of others, for they enjoy climatic attractions equal to, if not superior to, those of the *contra costas*.

So I return to my theme. Will the bay bridges end San Francisco's isolation? If they function properly, and adequate facilities are provided to disperse and house the traffic they develop, the answer must be "Yes," with this one reservation: If a major shift in population does occur, social isolation may be increased while economic isolation is decreased. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that San Francisco may be virtually depopulated as a residential center, at the same time growing measurably in stature as a commercial, industrial and financial metropolis.

The bay bridges, well-knitted into the transportation system of the entire bay region will lift the area to new and advanced levels. Lacking this integration they may become mere monuments to the science of engineering—and to the decadence of a glorious city.

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Book Reviews

W. Michael Mathes, *Reviews Editor*

Plotting the Golden West: American Literature and the Rhetoric of the California Trail.

By Stephen Fender. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. xi, 241 pp. $24.95.)

Seeking the Elephant, 1849: James M. Hutchings' Overland Journal.

Ed. by Shirley Sargent. (Glendale: Arthur Clark Co., 1980. 209 pp. $30.00.)

James Graham Cooper: Pioneer Western Naturalist.

By Eugene Coan. (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1981. 255 pp. $11.95.)

Mountain Climber: George B. Bayley, 1840-1894.

By Evelyn H. Chase. (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1981. 173 pp. $12.95.)

Joaquin Murrieta and His Horse Gangs.

By Frank Latta. (Santa Cruz: Bear State Books, 1980. xiii, 685 pp. $24.95.)

Borax Pioneer: Francis Marion Smith.

By George Hildebrand. (San Diego: Howell-North Books, 1982. xviii, 318 pp. $15.00.)

The Stow Affair: Anti-Semitism in the California Legislature.

By Budd Westreich. (Sacramento: Press of Arden Park [861 Los Molinos Way, 95825], 1982. 72 pp. $12.50.)

Charles Hopper and the Pilgrims of the Pacific: A 1841 California Pioneer, His Narrative and Other Documents.

Ed. by Franklin Beard. (La Grange: Southern Mines Press, 1981. xiv. 161 pp. $60.00.)

Gold Diggers and Camp Followers: The Nevada County Chronicles, 1845-1851.

By David A. Comstock. (Grass Valley: Comstock-Bonanza Press, 1982. xvi, 413 pp. $21.50.)

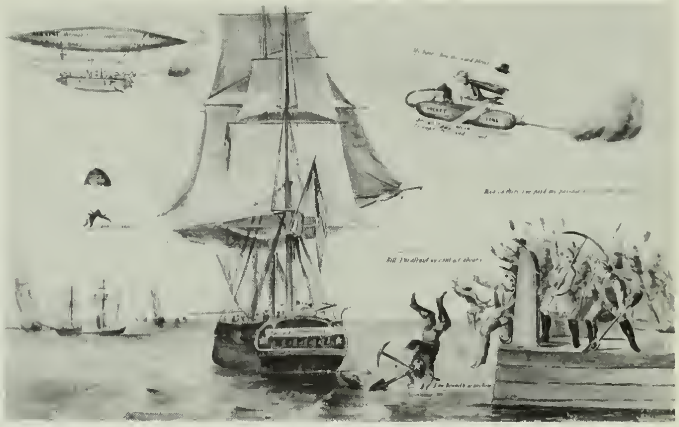
Reviewed by Ronald Genini, *Social Studies Department Chairman at Central High School, Fresno, recipient of the Jaycees Outstanding Young Educators Award for Fresno County, and author of several articles on California history.*

Nineteenth-century California continues to fascinate researchers and students alike, if the number of books issued by commercial publishers is any indication. Current interest, which seems to focus on the years after 1849, is inspired by that era's bumper crop of strong individualists and the booming development of a multifaceted economy synchronized with the image of a peaceful paradise. Combined with the continuing nostalgia for plastic Victoriana, this creates a market for books on those remarkable times.

A glib, highly readable author, Stephen Fender presents a collection of views of the Gold Rush by people of varying levels of sophistication. He draws on diaries, journals, letters, and newspapers to show that while American writers attempted to create a uniquely American style, they ironically renewed their dependence on European models; this dependence increased as those traveler-writers moved away from metropolitan centers (thus, a group of Osages "had fine Roman countenances" [p. 21]).

Fender's work sets the Forty-niners in the context of the books they read, such as Frémont's *Between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains* (1843) and Edwin Bryant's *What I Saw in California* (1848). One chapter covers the letters and diaries of the few women who accompanied their families to California, while the penultimate chapter examines Mark Twain's Virginia City experiences and how they influenced his writing style. The last chapter sets the Forty-niners "double style"—fantasy combined with documentary fact (which he sees culminating comically in the 1970 film *Little Big Man*)—in the context of their New England contemporaries, Melville and Hawthorne.

Yosemite's Shirley Sargent has made another valuable contribution to California historical writing, this time by editing Hutchings' *Journal of his Overland Trek to California*. The new book is volume XII of the American Trail Series, under the general editorship of A.B. Guthrie, Jr.



Eastern observers who resisted the national rush to California satirized the exaggerated expectations of the would-be Argonauts. New Yorker Nathaniel Currier produced this hand-colored lithograph (11½ × 17½"), replete with verbal barbs, in 1849. CHS Fine Arts Collection

An "irrepressible love of travel and adventure" brought Hutchings from England in 1848 with a denim-covered blank notebook. Reaching New York and traveling on to New Orleans, he heard of the gold discovery and joined a wagon train to "seek the elephant." All of the hazards, hardships, humor, accounts of good days and bad, including an encounter with vigilante justice in Placerville, were faithfully and colorfully set down by this latter-day Boswell. The journals of his trans-Atlantic voyage and transcontinental trek were documented by Ms. Sargent from the originals given to the Library of Congress in 1945 by Hutchings' daughter.

The *Journal* includes a list of all the graves passed along the trail, an excellent historical introduction, three letters from the mines, two illustrations, annotations, and an index. The volume is handsomely produced in a limited edition.

Two gaps have been well-filled by Eugene Coan's biography of J.G. Cooper and Evelyn Chase's biography of G. Bayley.

Capt. James G. Cooper, M.D. (1830-1902), who named at least seven generic taxa and at least 77 species-level taxa, was a frustrated zoologist who made a living as a physician in Santa Cruz or Hayward or as a farmer in drought-wracked Saticoy. A sickly man most of his life, he first traveled west with the Railroad Expedition of 1853 and became a permanent Californian in 1860. Traveling up and down and across the state, he made extensive collections for the California Academy of Sciences—from which many plants and animals were first named by the Smithsonian's Spencer Baird or the British Museum's Philip Carpenter. With little access to literature or comparative material, Cooper prepared important early papers on the biogeography of California trees and fauna and published papers and books on the mollusks of western North America.

Coan's work sprang from a desire to find information about Cooper's life while studying some of Cooper's collections at Berkeley. The book makes extensive use of his letters and manuscripts, allowing Cooper to tell his own story. The few illustrations are mainly drawings of animals. Included are an extensive bibliography of works by and about Cooper and two appendices, which detail early errors in the literature about Cooper and examine his zoological taxa. The book should be of interest to both the general reader and the specialist.

George Bayley was a naturalist, a mountaineer, a rock-climber, a geologist, a daredevil, an aesthete, an artist, and a writer. A companion of John Muir and one of the charter members of the Sierra Club, he was the first person known to scale Yosemite's North Dome (1867), Mt. Starr King (1875) and Cathedral Peak (1878). He also scaled Mt. Rainier (1883). This transplanted Yankee found time to earn a living as a bookkeeper for Ralston's Bank of California, followed by a stint as a note-teller for the Bank of Nevada's San Francisco branch. Then he became a private capitalist, selling the Pacific Incubator from his poultry ranch in downtown Oakland. In 1892 he narrowly survived a fall on his second climb of Mt. Rainier, only to be killed two years later at age 54 in an elevator accident.

The author, Bayley's former granddaughter-in-law, has assembled a compact, well-illustrated biography, at least a third of it from Bayley's writings. Footnotes and eleven pages of bibliography will lead the interested reader to explore more deeply the life of this fascinating individual.

Nonagenerian Frank Latta, having spent two-thirds of his life gathering material relative to Joaquín Murrieta, has recently published his findings with over 250 pictures, mainly of Murrieta relatives. Unfortunately, the book promises to fill gaps but doesn't.

Latta apparently has found Murrieta's horse-stealing trail, from the Carquínez Straits to La Ciénega, Sonora, via the Coast Range and the Antelope Valley, but he has not presented his account in readable fashion. It is replete with clumsy wording ("became of the opinion," p. 3), inconsistencies of translation ("El Famoso" on p. 12, but not "Tres Dedos" on p. 13), redundancies ("She was a sister of Joaquín Murrieta's mother and an aunt of . . . Joaquín Murrieta," p. 152), printing errors ("6000$,"

For many western women, even in the early twentieth century, life on the frontier meant performing the accustomed back-breaking domestic chores without conveniences such as running water. Joseph L. Bocci Collection, *Women of the West* (Antelope Island Press, 1982)

p. 153) and unsubstantiated claims ("Half of the Joaquín Murrietas . . . in Alta California . . . could speak the English language better than three-fourths of the Gringos in Alta California," p. 183). Although disorganized, confusing, and poorly edited, the book is a good example of how to conduct primary research and gather a specialized library; as such, it is a potentially instructive text for history methodology classes.

On the other hand, George Hildebrand's *Borax Pioneer* is the definitive biography of "Borax" Smith. Traveling to California in 1867, Smith (age nineteen), a transplanted Michigander, soon discovered borax in Nevada. He mined and shipped it to Oakland for refining. From this and the mines he bought from William T. Coleman, he created an international business and made a fortune. Later he diversified his interests into East Bay real estate, aided by his Key Route interurban trains and ferries, but he overextended his finances and lost his $25 million fortune in 1913. He died eighteen years later, soon after reentering the borax business and beginning to recoup his losses. The book, which begins with a history of borax, concludes with an interesting comparison and contrast of Smith with Collis Huntington and William Ralston. An important work of business history, the volume is beautifully printed and bound, nicely illustrated, and amply footnoted in the style to which Howell-North has accustomed us.

Anyone who was surprised by the anti-Semitic tenor of California State Senator John Schmitz's remarks in December 1981 will see in Budd Westreich's work that Schmitz was not the first to take this tack. A far harsher tune was sounded by Assembly Speaker William Stow (1824-95), when in 1855 he introduced Blue Laws into the Legislature. He remarked at that time that their only opponents were Jewish merchants, members of a race for whom he had "no sympathy . . . and was in favor of taxing . . . so they would leave the state." No reference to this matter seems to appear in the works of Bancroft, Caughey, Cleland, Tom Watkins or James Hart, and so any furor that the remarks created has probably been forgotten. Thanks to Mr. Westreich's miniscule—and poorly edited—book, we are reminded of California's occasional foray into anti-Semitism.

Franklin Beard, great-great grandson-in-law of pioneer Charles Hopper, has completed the commendable task of compiling all of the available material on his wife's ancestor. Hopper (1800-80) was a member of the first wagon train to reach California and led another party from the Midwest in 1847. He settled on Napa area land which was a gift from fellow Tarheeler George Yount. Beard uses accounts dealing with the Bidwell-Bartleson party, the 1847 party, Bancroft, Sloan, and Bowen & Co.'s *History of Napa and Lake Counties* (1881) for his account. He reproduced deeds, wills, manuscripts, maps, and Grange membership certificates, as well as numerous photographs—including those of Hopper's descendants. The keepsake book is attractively printed and bound.

To tell his story of Nevada County's Forty-niners, David Comstock used a methodology with which this reviewer was at first uncomfortable, then intrigued and absorbed in a well-researched, well-edited, well-presented history. Niles Searls, Charley Mulford, Tallman Rolfe and Chief Wema—scholar, lawyer, printer and native, respectively—are presented in very human terms in a book which reads like a novel but which is deeply loyal to the canons of history. The author not only utilizes records, newspapers, and diaries, he reproduces here for the first time the correspondence between Charles and Niles in California's Nevada County and their female cousins in New York, letters that are at once lively and touching. The stories of these men are set against a backdrop of frontier politics and journalism, Mormon schisms and migrations, and bloody Indian-white confrontations. The reviewer is puzzled that such an interesting addition to California history required self-publication.

California Check List

By Bruce L. Johnson, *Library Director*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, that need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price.

Armstrong, Robert D. *Nevada Printing History: A Bibliography of Imprints and Publications, 1858-1880*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1982. $35.00. Order from: University of Nevada Press; Reno, NV 89557.

In this invaluable guide to Nevada's printing, printers, and history, the author traces the development of the industry from 1858, when the first press was hauled over the mountains from California, to 1880, when the first State Printing Office was established. Nearly all of the 1,254 items included are annotated with details of their printing histories: who printed them, when, where, and at what cost. Armstrong provides annual summaries of events affecting the printing trade in Nevada during this twenty-two year period, including controversies surrounding public printing (most early Nevada public documents, for example, were actually printed in California), the formation of typographical unions, and the migration of presses from one mining camp to another.

Brotherton, I.N. "Jack." *The Annals of Stanislaus: River Towns and Ferries*. Santa Cruz: Western Tanager Press, 1982. $22.95. Order from: Western Tanager Press, 1111 Pacific Garden Mall, Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

When gold fever swept California in the 1850s, most of the main routes to the southern Mother Lode were blocked by the three great rivers of Stanislaus County: the Tuolomne, the San Joaquin, and the Stanislaus. Responding to nature's challenge, a hardy generation of men and women set up ferry crossings and landings along the three rivers to move miners, supplies, and livestock through the county and into the gold country. In *The Annals of Stanislaus*, the first comprehensive history of the county from the Gold Rush to the end of the nineteenth century, Jack Brotherton describes in detail the trials and dedication of these first pioneers. Each of the book's three parts is devoted to one of the major rivers and considers all the ferries, crossings, and landings on its banks. This volume, concentrating on river towns and ferries, is the first of a projected series that will relate the history of the entire county.

California Tomorrow. *California 2000: The Next Frontier*. San Francisco: California Tomorrow, 1982. $5.00 (nonmembers). Order from: California Tomorrow, 512 2nd Street, San Francisco, CA 94105.

California Tomorrow is a publically supported, nonprofit foundation established in 1961. In 1972 it published *The California Tomorrow Plan*, which advocated the use of statewide planning to achieve conservation and economic goals. The aim of the foundation's four-year California 2000 Project was to explore the remaining twenty years of the twentieth century, discern where the state is headed, and suggest ways in which the direction can be altered to achieve a better, more sustainable way of life for all Californians. *California 2000: The Next Frontier* is the thought-provoking final project report, written by CHS Trustee Richard Reinhardt. It is based on the results of an extensive statewide research program and incorporates the insights yielded by six regional conferences during 1980 and 1981. In general the report argues that strong environmental regulations will continue to be essential to California's long-term productivity and to the quality of life for all Californians. Contrary to recent political campaign rhetoric, sound environmental practices benefit the state's economy in every policy area—land use and water use, as well as energy, population, and social policy.

Dunning, Harrison C. *Water Allocation in California: Legal Rights and Reform Needs*. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, 1982. IGS Research Paper 1982. $4.50; checks payable to the Regents of the University of California. Order from: Institute of Governmental Studies, 119 Moses Hall, University of California; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Water allocation, consumption, and conservation are pressing issues in California politics. The author examines legal aspects of water rights and allocation, giving legal perspective on the way the state's water is managed. He also underscores the need for political consensus on water law reform. The paper bases some lessons for California on recent experience in Arizona where the untenability of further water projects forced major policy reform. Dunning believes the situation in California, where various groups are deadlocked on water policy change, could also show dramatic shifts.

Earl Warren Oral History Project. 53 volumes. Berkeley: Regional Oral History Office, 1969-1982. Available at cost for deposit in noncirculating collections. Contact: Regional Oral History Office, Room 486, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720.

Fifty-three bound volumes of oral history interviews with significant persons in California's Earl Warren Era, 1925-1953, have been completed by the Regional Oral History Office. The final volume focuses on Earl Warren himself—the former district attorney, state attorney general, three-term governor, and United States Chief Justice. The project, which required thirteen years to complete, has produced oral histories with 149 key persons. They include 121 heads of government departments, assistants to the governor, legislators, leaders of political parties and factions, and 28 personal friends and family members. It is the first time that a state's past has been systematically documented for archives with oral history interviews.

Engstrand, Iris H.W. *Serra's San Diego: Father Junipero Serra and California's Beginnings.* San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1982. $2.95 (paper). Order from: San Diego Historical Society, Museum of San Diego History, Post Office Box 81825, San Diego, CA 92138.

In slightly more than 200 years, European settlement has transformed San Diego from a region sparsely populated by Indians to an expanding urban metropolis. On July 16, 1769, Father Junipero Serra, a Spanish missionary, planted a cross on today's Presidio Hill and founded Mission San Diego de Alcala. Engstrand's *Serra's San Diego*, which includes twenty-two sepia illustrations, gathers together in concise, readable form information regarding California's best known Franciscan missionary and the role he played in the development of early Spanish San Diego, including Serra's Mallorcan beginnings, travels in Mexico, the founding of San Diego, the role of the San Diego Presidio and Mission, and Serra's later years. She also considers the establishment of the Junipero Serra Museum in 1929 and present-day archaeological excavations at the San Diego Presidio.

Hudson, Travis, and Thomas C. Blackburn. *The Material Culture of the Chumash Interaction Sphere, Volume 1: Food Procurement and Transportation.* Los Altos: Ballena Press, 1982. $19.95 (paper); $34.95 (cloth). Ballena Press Anthropological Papers No. 25. A cooperative publication of Ballena Press and the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. Order from: Ballena Press, 381 First Street, Los Altos, CA 94022.

In the late nineteenth century, collectors gathered from archaeological sites on the Santa Barbara coast and off-shore islands literally tons of artifacts made by the Chumash Indians of Southern California. These artifacts ended up in a number of the world's great museums, as well as in the hands of private collectors. Some of the more aesthetic pieces were displayed—and had a significant effect on the development of twentieth-century art—but most were to remain virtually forgotten for many years. This monograph is the first in a five-volume series by the two scholars primarily responsible for the resurgence of interest in the Chumash. The series will describe and illustrate virtually every material object used by the Chumash and their neighbors, the Kitanemuk and Gabrielino, and includes a tremendous quantity of unpublished ethnographic data gathered during the early twentieth century by John Peabody Harrington of the Smithsonian Institution and other scholars. The authors have searched out specimens associated with hunting, fishing, gathering, and transportation—from nets, traps, harpoons, and burden baskets to cradleboards and the famous Chumash plank canoes—from more than forty museums and private collections world-wide as examples to illustrate their work.

Nowinski, Ira (photographer), and Joan Chatfield-Taylor (writer). *Backstage at the Opera: An Insider's Look at the Grandest of Performing Arts.* San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1982. $12.95 (paper). Order from: Chronicle Books, 870 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102.

Backstage at the Opera takes one on a remarkable tour through the cavernous catacombs and backstage cubicles of a major opera house to explore the creative maelstrom that forges together a major opera production. One meets the great impresarios, the famous directors, the world's most illustrious performers, the set designers, the costumers and make-up artists, the choreographers and musicians, and a veritable army of technical and artistic support people, all merging their myriad talents to create the grandest and most magical of dramatic illusion: Grand Opera. More than 100 remarkable photographs by noted opera photographer Ira Nowinski combine with a highly readable text to create an intimate portrait of the usually impregnable sanctum sanctorum of backstage life at the opera.

Perry, Frank. *Lighthouse Point: Reflections on Monterey Bay History.* Soquel: GBH Publishing, 1982. $5.95. Order from: GBH Publishing, Post Office Box 762, Soquel, CA 95073.

For well over a century, lighthouses have guided mariners across northern Monterey Bay on the central California coast. *Lighthouse Point* traces the fascinating history of the beacons located at Lighthouse Point in Santa Cruz. Frank Perry relates the story of a lighthouse keeper who came to California via wagon train in 1846, a lighthouse that was moved to keep it from falling into the ocean, a bizarre battle over land ownership that delayed lighthouse construction for fifteen years, a seaside naturalist who started a museum in the lighthouse where she was keeper for thirty-three years, and the story of the West Coast's only active lighthouse that was privately built. Mr. Perry's reflections are told from the perspective of America's lighthouse system as a whole and Monterey Bay's changing role as a seaport.

Reed, Adele. *Old Mammoth,* edited by Genny Smith. Palo Alto: Genny Smith Books, 1982. Distributed by William Kaufmann, Inc. $14.50 (paper); $23.50 (cloth). Order from: William Kaufmann, Inc., 95 First Street, Los Altos, CA 94022.

This finely produced book captures the boom-time beginnings of a small California mountain village and traces its history, with first-hand accounts and more than 150 vintage photographs, through almost a century of change. The photographs included in *Old Mammoth* are particularly impressive, including the work of four men who began their work in the eastern Sierra during the early twentieth century—A.A. Forbes (1902), H.W. Mendenhall (about 1910), Burton Frasher (early 1920s), and Stephen Willard (1923). They visually document mining camps, wagon roads and pack trains, street scenes, mining operations, and panoramic views of one of California's most beautiful areas.

Reiterman, Tim, with John Jacobs. *Raven: The Untold Story of the Rev. Jim Jones and His People.* New York: E.P. Dutton; 1982. $17.95. Order from: E.P. Dutton, 2 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10016.

Author Tim Reiterman was a member of Congressman Leo Ryan's ill-fated fact-finding mission to Jonestown, Guyana, in 1978. Now a reporter for the *San Francisco Examiner,* he and fellow reporter John Jacobs have produced a remarkable account of the Rev. Jim Jones, his Peoples Temple, and events culminating in the incredible mass suicide five years ago. Based on more than 800 interviews and other sources, Reiterman and Jacobs offer an absorbing narrative that attempts to explain an irrational man's appeal to otherwise rational people. Perhaps the most startling revelation is that Jones's madness was present from his Indiana childhood, where he learned to con, to be winning, and to manipulate through kindness and cruelty. His finely honed skills at persuasion were put to masterful use in building his healing ministry during the 1970s and in leading 913 of his followers in an act of "unspeakable evil and waste."

Zucker, Lynne G. *California's Proposition 13: Early Impact on Education and Health Services.* Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, 1982. California Policy Seminar Monograph Number 15. $4.00. Order from: Institute of Governmental Studies, 119 Moses Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720.

Looking at the impact on education and health services of Proposition 13—and subsequent state "bailouts"—Zucker shows how changes at lower governmental levels are limited by upper-level priorities. Thus an unintended consequence of Proposition 13 was increased local dependence on the state and federal governments. The author also challenges policymakers to consider the need for uniform service delivery in all California counties and to decide what services are central to the well-being of state residents.

Other Books Noted

Bliss, Carey S. *Autos Across America: A Bibliography of Transcontinental Automobile Travel, 1903-1940.* Revised Edition. Austin: Jenkins Publishing Company, 1982. $19.50. Order from: Jenkins Publishing Company, Box 2085, Austin, TX 78768.

Boyd, W. Harland, John Ludeke, and Marje Rump. *Inside Historic Kern.* Bakersfield: Kern County Historical Society, 1982. $13.00. Order from: Kern County Historical Society, Post Office Box 141, Bakersfield, CA 93302.

Bright, Marjorie Belle. *Nellie's Boardinghouse: A Dual Biography of Nellie Coffman and Palm Springs.* Palm Springs: ETC Publications, 1981. $12.95. Order from: ETC Publications, Drawer 1627-A, Palm Springs, CA 92262.

California Institute of Public Affairs. *Trade and Professional Associations in California: A Directory.* Second edition. Claremont: California Institute of Public Affairs, 1982. $20.00. Order from: California Institute of Public Affairs, Post Office Box 10, Claremont, CA 91711.

Cinel, Dino. *From Italy to San Francisco: The Immigrant Experience.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982. $25.00. Order from: Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA 94305.

Flamini, Roland. *Ava* [Gardner]. New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1983. $14.95. Order from: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1050 W. Wall Street, Lyndhurst, NJ 07071.

Franzwa, Gregory M. *Maps of the Oregon Trail.* Gerald: The Patrice Press, 1982. $24.95. Order from: The Patrice Press, Box 42, Gerald, MO 63037.

Hanson, Robert F. *Russ Kingman: Jack London Collector.* Venice: Opuscula Press, 1627 Bob O'Link Drive, Venice, FL 33595.

Hard, Louise Fulton. *The Red House on the Hill* [a personal account of an early twentieth-century childhood in rural Southern California]. Illustrated by

Helen Tilley. Escondido: Omni Publishers, 1982. $5.95. Order from: Omni Publishers, 218 E. Grand Avenue, No. 201, Escondido, CA 92025.

Harper, John L. *Mineral King: Public Concern with Government Policy*. Arcata: Pacific Publishing Co., 1982. $9.25. Order from: John L. Harper, Arcata, CA 95521-1046.

Johnson, Arline, Florence Lindsay, and William Pierce. *Johnson Family Letters, 1905-1906*. Transcribed and annotated by Kay Clegg. Santa Cruz: Kay Clegg, 1982. $12.50. Order from: Kay Clegg, 1736 Kawana Springs Road, Santa Cruz, CA 95404.

Kimbell, Larry, and David Shulman. *Growth in California: Prospects and Consequences*. California Policy Seminar Final Report No. 1. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, 1981. $3.75. Order from: Institute of Governmental Studies, 119 Moses Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720.

Ludwig, Edward W. *Gumshan: the Chinese-American Saga*. Illustrated by Jack Loo. Los Gatos: Polaris Press, 1982. $2.95 (paper). Order from: Polaris Press, 16540 Camellia Terrace, Los Gatos, CA 95030.

MacIntosh, G. (ed.) *Oranges and Snowfields: Southern California at the Turn of the Century*. Santa Barbara: Ross-Erikson, 1982. $3.95 (paper). Order from: Ross-Erikson, 629 State Street, Suite 207, Santa Barbara, CA 93101.

Pomada, Elizabeth. *Places to Go with Children in Northern California*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1980. $5.95 (paper). Order from: Chronicle Books, 870 Market Street, Suite 915, San Francisco, CA 94102.

Redwood Genealogical Society. *Some Deaths and Burials in Humboldt County, California, 1852-1905*. Fortuna: Redwood Genealogical Society, 1981. Order from: Redwood Genealogical Society, Post Office Box 645, Fortuna, CA 95540.

Roberts, Lois W. *Anacapa Island*. Santa Barbara: McNally & Loftin, 1982. $6.50. Order from: McNally & Loftin, Publishers, Post Office Box 1316, Santa Barbara, Ca 93102.

Sacramento *Bee*. *The Sting of the Bee* [editorial cartoons published since 1857]. Book designed by Adrian Wilson. Sacramento: Sacramento Bee, 1982. $33.42 (includes tax, postage, and handling). Order from: Sacramento Bee, Public Relations Department, 21st & O, Sacramento, CA 95813.

San Diego Historical Society. *Balboa Park Expositions, 1915-1936: The Magic City; a Book of Days* [calendar]. San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1982. $8.95 (54 sepia plates). Order from: San Diego Historical Society, Museum of San Diego History, Post Office Box 81825, San Diego, CA 92138.

Sanborn, Margaret, *Yosemite: Its Discovery, Its Wonders and Its People*. New York: Random House, 1981. $17.50. Order from: Random House, Inc., 400 Hahn Road, Westminster, MD 21157.

Shangle, Robert D. *Beautiful Monterey Peninsula and Big Sur*. Text by Brian Berger. Beaverton: Beautiful America Publishing Co., 1980. $6.95 (paper). Order from: Beautiful America Publishing Company, Post Office Box 608, Beaverton, OR 97075.

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Shelton, Lawrence P. *California Gunsmiths, 1846-1900*. Fair Oaks: Far Far West Publishers, 1982. $29.65. Order from: Far Far West Publishers, Post Office Box 171, Fair Oaks, CA 95628.

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Smith, Gail Vinje, and William A. Allen. *The Picture History of Balboa Island, 1906-1981: A Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee*. Newport Beach: Balboa Island Heritage/Galliard Press, 1981. Order from: Galliard Press, Post Office Box 296, Claremont, CA 91711.

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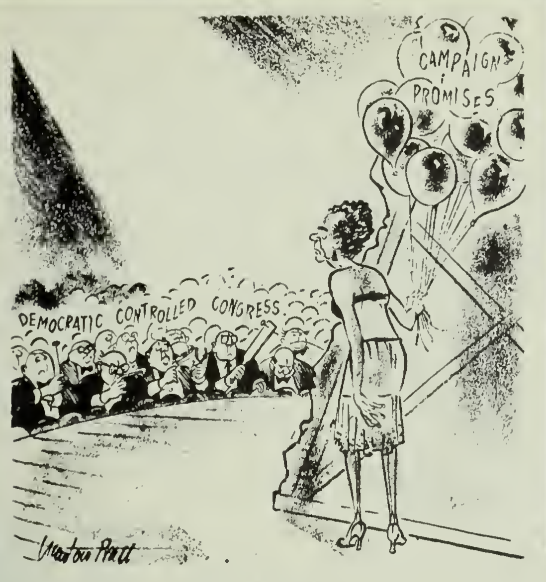
Taylor, Alexander S. *Bibliografa Californica*. Originally published, 1863; reprinted, Sparks: Falcon Hill Press, 1982. $28.50 (xerographically produced typescript; comb binding). Order from: Falcon Hill Press, Box 1431; Sparks, NV 89431.

Yu, Eui-Young, Earl H. Phillips, and Eun Sik Yank (eds.). *Koreans in Los Angeles: Prospects and Promises*. Los Angeles: Koryo Research Institute, Center for Korean-American and Korean Studies, California State University, 1982. Order from: Koryo Research Institute, California State University, 5151 State University Drive, Los Angeles, CA 90032.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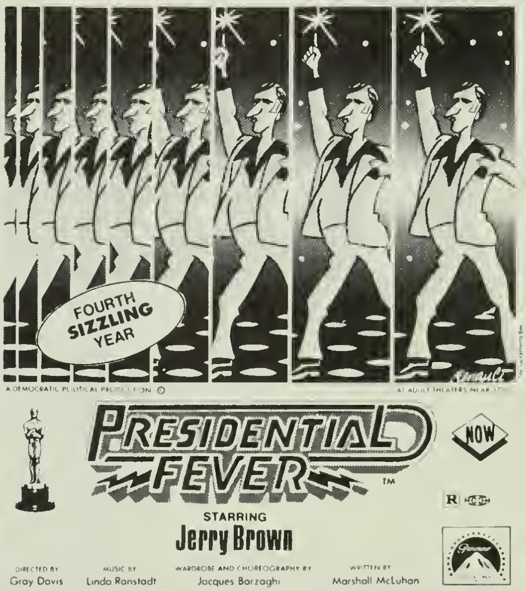
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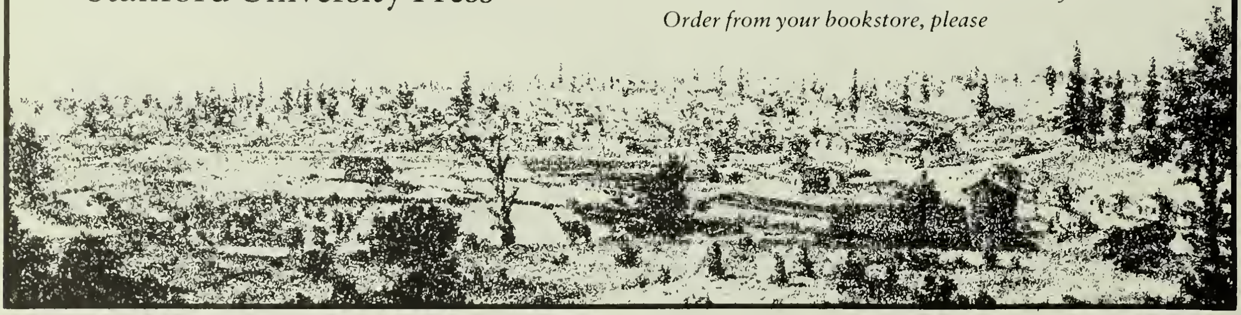

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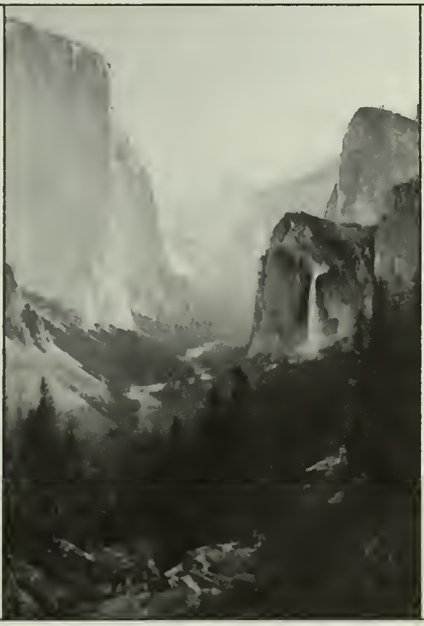

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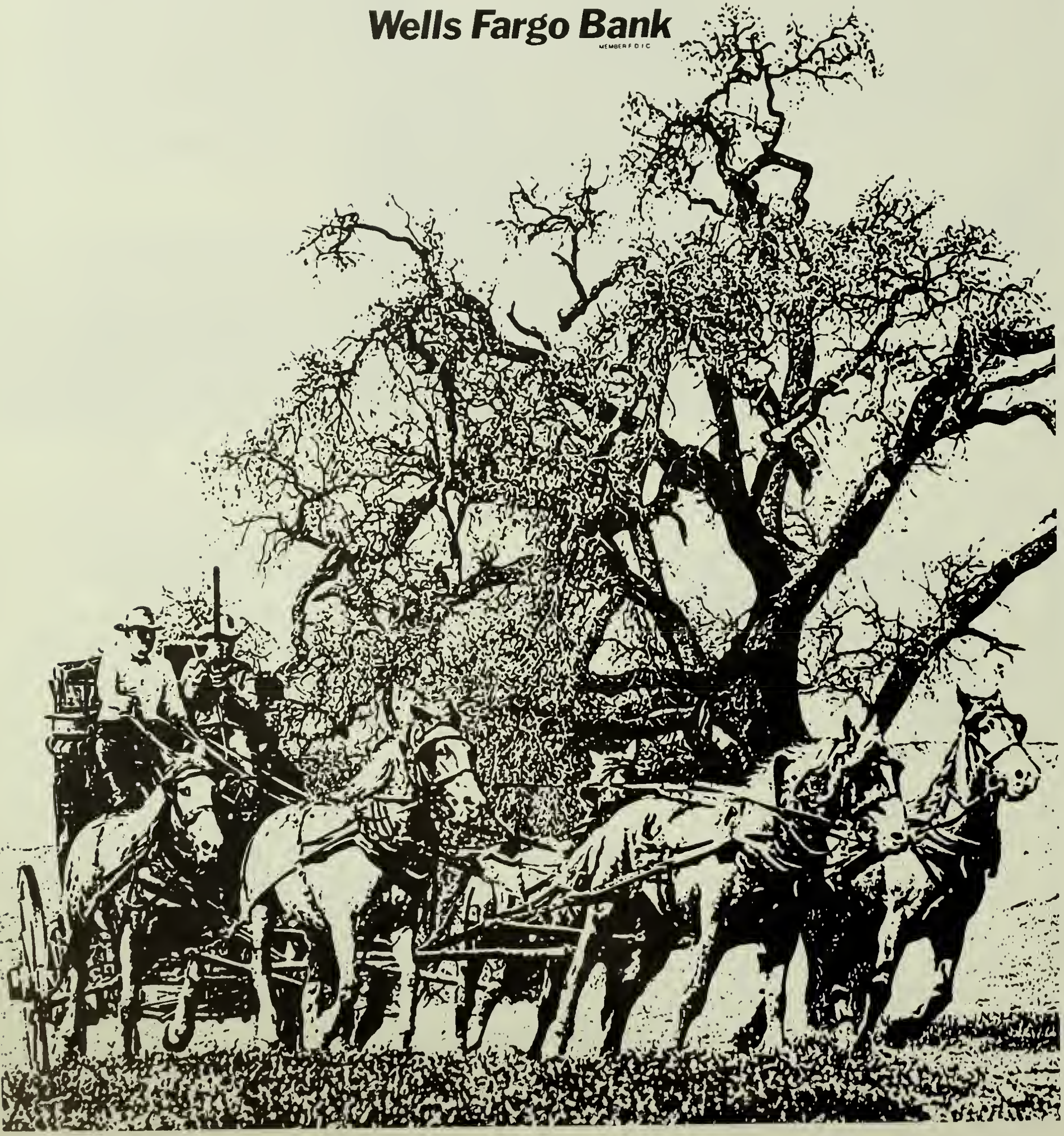

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Compiled by Marcella Genz

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CALIFORNIA HISTORY
Individual copies $4.00
Published quarterly ©1982 by CHS

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LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897
Second-class postage paid at San Francisco
Publication number 084180

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